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The Most Revered Image

JOSEPH RICHARD SIZOO

ON THE evening before Ash Wednesday I read the New Testament through in one sitting. It was for me a moving, never-to-be-forgotten experience. I wanted to find again Him to whom the Christian world turns these impressive days of Lent. Believe me, it does something to one's thinking and living and preaching and praying to do that.

I begin by making a simple observation. It is this: Christianity rests upon the significance of Jesus. The new force which came into that long-ago world had its origin in the person of our Lord. The one fact which has affected the history of the world more than any other is the simple, artless story of His birth, life, death and Resurrection. "All the revivals and all the reforms which have come into the world or in the Church began when men and women became aware again of Jesus who had been forgotten or undervalued by the Church which bears His name." All the renewals and moral awakenings within the Church have sprung from a rereading of the New Testament, and the Synoptic Gospels in particular. Our world, tired of compromises and irrelevancies, duped by its own genius, disillusioned by its own cleverness, is crying out again, "Sir, we would see Jesus." The source of all morality and spirituality is in Him and in none other. There is growing upon the world a new sense of the significance of Jesus.

The most revered image ever fashioned by human hands represents a living man, a village carpenter, spiked to a cross of wood. That living man, a village carpenter, spiked to a cross of wood, still lives and holds the adoration of innumerable multitudes. Sixty generations ago He walked this earth, slept under the stars that still shine over us, loved the flowers that still bloom and blossom, and today the simple story of His life and death has been translated into over one thousand languages and dialects of the modern world.

Two thousand years ago, with a handful of men, He walked through the streets of the cities and along the country roads of Palestine. Today one third of the population of the modern world names His name. You may as well untwist moonbeams that fall with a yellow glow upon

housetops and hills about us, as to suppose you can untwist His name and memory from the hope and heart of the world.

.

As I read the New Testament that night I became impressed with the fact that we have three distinct unfolding attitudes to our Lord. They are almost three distinct personalities we meet. The writers of the New Testament point us to One who lived. In the Synoptics we have the ever, never old story of His birth, life, death and Resurrection. It is as familiar to us as our daily bread. He came, He preached, He healed, He called followers about Him, He suffered, He died, He rose again. He was born in obscurity and reared in poverty; He was raised in a second-rate city; He grew up in an insignificant country and came from a negligible race. Of His childhood and early manhood we know almost nothing until He was thirty years of age. He was brought up in the home of a mechanic and worked in a carpenter shop. He had some brothers and a few sisters. He never led an army; He never wrote a book; He never founded a new school; He discovered nothing and He invented nothing. Externally the world was the same at His death as at His birth. He never traveled more than one hundred miles from home; He never began to preach until He was thirty, and hardly had He begun when they had Him checkmated. His disciples were twelve in all, eleven of whom came from the up-country, who were, as Tacitus indicated, "ignorant and illiterate men." After months of preaching and healing the hellish machinations of Pharisaism sent Him to His cross which His followers believed to be an irretrievable disaster and a ghastly tragedy.

They tell us what manner of man He was. He was never taken by surprise; He never entertained suspicions; we never find Him taking counsel with others; He was never in a hurry; He learned little from experience, for He knew as much at the beginning as at the end. He mingled with ease among the most diverse elements of society. He was never embarrassed. He was evenly poised, courteous and always self-possessed. There was an unruffled calmness about Him, and perfect self-possession. He never vacillated; He never made concessions. We see Him walk solemnly, but unfaltering without a shadow of hesitation to meet His inevitable but awful fate. He was never jealous of anyone, never impatient and He was a man of utmost and exquisite refinement. His mind was as lucid as light and His words so clear that He who runs can understand

them. He talked about the common, everyday things. He spoke of birds, ripe corn, lost sheep, the candlestick, the hen and her chickens, flowers, the plowman, doves and sparrows, eggs and fish, oxen and swine, rain and rock, wind and sunset, cloud and harvest field. He never said a needless thing. He never spoke as modern religious teachers to the press or to the microphone or to newsreels. He spoke to people as they were and where He found them. He became the great torchbearer for all those who were bewildered. He touched life at every point and in every sphere of thought and action. In Him there was something for the lowest human need and the highest aspiration of the mind. He stands before the world as absolute perfection. No man has ever been so great, so wise or so good, nor can we imagine anyone ever being so great, so wise or so good. He had not a single failing nor shortcoming. The confession of Judas has been confirmed by the centuries, "I have sinned in that I have betrayed innocent blood." The thief on the cross was right, "This man hath done nothing worthy of death." The testimony of the Roman centurion stands, "This was a righteous man."

There was about Him an amazing spirit of self-sacrifice. Day and night He gave His time and strength to others. He bore to all mankind a love that was as boundless as it was unfathomable. He saw men groping in darkness and offered them light; He saw them face doubt and death and offered them hope; He saw them hating and embittered and gave them love. We become strangely aware of this unconquerable love in the last week of His life which is so important that the Synoptic writers give to it one quarter of their space. As one goes back to the story of the betrayal there always arises the question: "Why did He allow it? Was He too believing or too ignorant of what was going on?" But as we read carefully we become aware that Jesus knew what was in the heart of Judas. Upon many occasions He made Judas aware of His knowledge of him. Not only did He know what was in the heart of Judas, but He gave him every opportunity to leave the little band without a cloud resting upon him. He wanted Judas to know that he was a free agent and He never held over his head the threat of exposure. But when Judas refused to go and determined to stay, Jesus held fast to him. He never exposed him. The disciples did not know the betrayer in the group. If they had they would not have slept in the garden. In the Upper Room Jesus even washed his feet and shared with him the cup of the sacrament of remembrance. The

last word He spoke to Judas was, according to Matthew, the word "friend." "Having loved His own which were in the world, He loved them unto the end." Judas betrayed Jesus; but Jesus never betrayed Judas. When at last His doom had been sealed and He was nailed to His cross He must have had Judas in mind, too, when He prayed, "Father, forgive them." It will always be strange and difficult to understand why one who lived so good a life should have received treatment so dreadful. So Jesus walks through the New Testament. This is the ever, never old story of One who lived, of whom childhood never grows weary and for whom old age never loses affection. It is the place where all wandering ends. One goes back to that life as Chesterton went back to it:

"To an open house in the evening,
Home shall men come,
To an older town than Eden,
And a taller town than Rome;
To the end of the way of the wandering star,
To the things that cannot be, and are,
To the place where God was homeless
And all men are at home."

.

But the Gospel is more than the record of One who lived. There is a second person I saw that night walking through the pages of the New Testament. In the last analysis the Synoptics are not so much a biography of Jesus, as a testimony of what He meant to men. The writers of the Gospels are not mere recorders. They do not give us a photograph, but a portrait of Jesus. They do not attempt to put on canvas all that they see, but select and arrange and color details in order to bring out the significance of Jesus as it appealed to them. Each seeks to portray the enduring meaning of that face for himself. The light of His life broke into a variety of rays. Each writer sees Jesus in some personal, direct relationship, not simply in a detached objective sense. As Doctor Moffat points out so tellingly, the Gospel is the same, but one wrote it according to Matthew, another according to Mark, another according to Luke, and still another according to John. Christianity has from the first appealed to all sorts and conditions of men, and these various types of reactions are preserved in the New Testament literature. It is one and the same Lord which the New Testament presents, but in dissolving views whose colors shift and change. The New Testament makes clear that no one church can

ever possess the full truth and no age can ever exhaust the knowledge and meaning of His life. We come, therefore, upon distinct differences of emphases in the New Testament, even in the writings of the same authority, as Paul. The conceptions of Jesus are quite different in his letters to Thessalonica, Philippi and Colossa. The books of the New Testament differ in size and shape and they reveal differences of level and experience. They record the vision and inward experience of men with Jesus. He was to them not simply One who had lived, but also one who lives with them.

He is an Eternal Presence. Men discovered they can commune with Him as surely as they talked with Him while in the flesh. The records which they left are not simply annals, but they are experiences with Him. As Doctor Moffatt states, they break ardently into sudden doxologies of rapture, stirred by the thought and sight of what Christ had come to mean to them. Because Christ lived with them their hearts throbbed and they worshiped Him. They did more than to recall what He was and what He said. They knew Him as a living Presence. They called Him Emmanuel, being interpreted, God with us, finding reality in His promise, "Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world."

Those for whom the Gospels were first written knew Christ first as a transforming influence. The converts in the first generation were not provided with a book to read, but rather with a life to share. The Church was a gathering of Christian experience. Out of these experiences the Gospels emerged, for such is the order of spiritual logic. The validity of the Christian faith, therefore, does not rest upon manuscripts, but upon experience. The Gospels were written to enable men of later ages to enjoy in their own way a personal experience which these documents attest.

That accounts for the amazing influence of that early fellowship. People will always revere a religion despite intellectual misgivings if it is born from experiences they can share. The avowed aim of those who walk through the New Testament was to release and set free this religious experience, all too often confined to some narrow cloister or monastic exclusiveness. For the glory of the Church rests upon the fact that in the midst of violent forces of doubt, materialism and disillusionment it has kept alive Christian faith born from an experience with the living Lord. The Church has always been weak when it has forgotten that He is a living Presence. All too often it has stood apart breathing an artificial atmosphere. It does not seem to spring spontaneously out of the daily

lives of people or to be in vital relation to one we call Lord. All too often His followers have been content to be spectators rather than taking part in the drama. The problem of the Church today therefore is, "How can it establish itself creatively and spontaneously at the heart of modern life?"

The first converts banded together because of a creative experience; the community into which they were incorporated was a living Church, of living attitudes, with a living Lord, and as they shared that common experience and outlook they were enriched and their understanding of Jesus was deepened. Out of that experience the New Testament emerged. It is for this reason that one comes upon seeming discrepancies in the New Testament. Not seldom is a saying recorded in two or three different forms. It is easy to understand how different Christian circles and different Christians gave their own interpretation to the meaning of the Master's words. The teaching had passed through the gospel of a living experience and had proved itself in different forms of conduct, each distinct from the other, but all derived from Him. Undesignedly and unconsciously they reveal in their differences some deep meaning which Jesus gave to their lives. It evoked new qualities, new possibilities, new range and width and raised to the heights the glory of their Lord. It wrote Jesus into a daily experience and into the vernacular of their lives. It is for this reason that Jesus became inexhaustible as they compared with one another their responses and experience with Him. That is what Christianity meant to them. "They were not mere spectators of One who had lived, but partakers of One who lived with them."

That was the test which Jesus always applied to discipleships to make it valid. For the ultimate significance of any man is his creativeness in the lives of others. The significance of Jesus turns on the moral and spiritual achievements in the lives of men and women. Paul was always insisting that the validity of the Christian life does not turn on a private emotional delight toward One who had lived, but in the rapturous experience with One who lived with them. Christ was verified and vindicated in a redeemed society, a creative nucleus which organized a new social order. It was this which prompted John to record, "The wind bloweth where it listeth and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh or whither it goeth; so is everyone that is born of the spirit." In a very real and deep sense, therefore, Jesus is the same for us as He has ever been for our predecessors. Therefore, however Chris-

tianity may be defined, it is always a creative life; it is never static and it never ends. It is a growth in the faith and knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ. If I may quote Doctor Moffat, "If the successors of any age are to keep their minds upon Jesus nothing will aid them like a loyal, thoughtful testimony from their predecessors." So through the New Testament there pass men and women, rich and poor, old and young, gifted and commonplace, who have lived in the presence of a living Christ and whose presence changed everything for them. They went up and down Asia Minor speaking not simply of One who had lived, but One who was a reality to them. Their watch cry was, "That which we have seen with our eyes and heard with our ears we declare unto you." And Jesus made that the ultimate test of discipleship. What He said to Pilate He must have said many times to those who walked with Him, "Sayest thou this of thyself or hath another told it thee of me?" The glory of Jesus is not simply that He lived once, but that He lives today. He is at home in our world and belongs to all ages. He is a Jew in Jerusalem, a Greek in Antioch and a Latin in Rome. Titian gives Him the likeness of a Latin; Tintoretto paints Him with the face of an Arab; Murillo gives Him the appearance of a Spaniard and Rubens gives Him the physiognomy of a peasant of Flanders fields, but He is the same in them all. He is at home everywhere.

"For warm, sweet, tender, even yet
A present help is He
And faith has still its Olivet
And love its Galilee."

.

There is one more portrait we have of Jesus in the New Testament. The writers of this ageless book looked back and saw Him not only as One who lived, or One who lives, but finally as One in whom they lived and moved and had their being. Christianity is something more than a recital of experience or a collection of stories about Him or a record of words spoken by Him. He brought men, not so much a revelation about God; He was in reality the revealer of God. "The Word became flesh and dwelt among us." The New Testament was written because men had come to believe that in God's revelation of Himself in the incarnate Lord they found a meaning and clue to history. It proclaims, "There is One Mediator between God and man, the Man Christ Jesus." They believed

that they saw God in the face of Jesus Christ. They wrote down the deep conviction, "We know that the Son of God has come and has given us insight to know Him who is the real God; and we are in Him, even in His Son, Jesus Christ." They spoke of Him as the Alpha and the Omega, the beginning and the end, the first and the last. The center of gravity in Apostolic Christianity was the finality of Jesus as the full and final revealing of God. God has come to earth and visited mankind. It has proclaimed Jesus Christ the Son of God. God was in Christ reconciling the world to Himself. "This is life eternal that they may know Thee the only true God and Jesus Christ whom Thou has sent." He who once lived and who lived with them was the incarnate Son of God. In Jesus they did not simply hear about God, but they heard God. There is a finality about the New Testament because it proclaims that divine revelation made in and through One whose life on earth entered into the manifestation of God's mind and purpose. So it was John who wrote: "In the beginning was the Word and the Word was with God and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by him and without him was not anything made that was made. In him was life; and the life was the light of men."

As they looked back upon His life with the passing of time they became convinced that it was so that Jesus bore witness to Himself. He always spoke with an uncompromising authority of eternal omniscience. All men grow by experience after contact with the world. He did not. His first utterance was as powerful as any later. He foresaw and foretold that He would disturb the very foundation of human society for ages to come, and He has done so. There was a self-assertiveness about Jesus which had no parallel. His claims were astounding. He appropriated to Himself everything that is eternal and applied to Himself the symbols of omnipotent power and transcendent wisdom. They heard Him say, "I am the light," "I am the vine," "I am from above," "I am the light of the world," "before Abraham was, I am," "ask in my name," "all power is given unto me." He claimed to be the perfect teacher; He claimed to set the perfect example; He claimed that prophecy was fulfilled in Him; He claimed to be the sinless person; He claimed that He would be the final judge; He claimed that all men should obey Him. The element of time never seems to have entered into His thinking. He seemed always to be looking beyond the horizons of time and space. He was unconscious

of the divisions of time and it never entered into His reckoning or living. He appeared to have no yesterday, today or tomorrow. His whole life upon earth had all the marks of an interlude. Napoleon was right: Christ proved that He was the Son of the Eternal by His disregard of time; all His doctrines signify one and the same thing: eternity.

And that has been the testimony of all the ages. You cannot place Him. He is one of us and yet He is one apart from us. He is at home everywhere and at home nowhere. He made Himself one with man and yet He is not of man. He never wears out in any age or country and there is a perennial freshness about Him. It has often been remarked that there runs through philosophy and religion the prediction of some wonderful one to come, some anticipated being with a message from God. The Chaldeans looked for Him and Egypt had that in its vision. Confucius confirmed it and the wise men held to it; Plato predicted it. But after 33 A. D., all that longing and aspiration finds no further expression. The Messiah idea began to fade after the crucifixion. Men know now that God has come and walked this earth.

The testimony of the New Testament has been summarized by the testimony of the Christian Church through the long, intervening centuries, "I believe in Jesus Christ, His Son, our Lord." It is true that once He lived. The record of His life cannot be challenged. It is true that He is present with us today and is vindicated in the experience of men. But more than that: He stands before the world as the final and full revealing of God. One who lived, and One who lives, is also One in whom we live and move and have our being.

You cannot read the New Testament without the deep conviction that it was written by men who had a vision of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ. Our fellowship is with the Father and with His Son, Jesus Christ. That is the heart and keynote of the New Testament. Say what we will, Christianity is the religion of a divine revelation made in and through One whose life on earth entered into a new manifestation of God's will and mind, Jesus Christ, Son of God. The world is not done with Him, but the world is done without Him. One comes to the end saying with Browning:

"I say the acknowledgment of God in Christ
Accepted by reason, solves for Thee
All questions in the earth and out of it."

Revelation and Its Alternative

EDWIN LEWIS

THE word "revelation" as used in connection with Christianity has always had a perfectly plain and unequivocal meaning. It has meant that the truths which lie at the center of Christianity, and which give it its distinctive character and mission, have been "made known" to men, not simply "discovered" by them. If we are not prepared to continue the use of the word in that sense, let us say so frankly, and drop the use of the word altogether. Only, before we do so drastic a thing, we ought to realize very fully what we are about, and what repercussions our rejection carries.

Revelation shatters the maxim that man is the measure of all things. Mind is not only a power of discovery: it is also a power of reception. It can receive because it needs to know more than it can find out. Its power of discovery is limited to existence in its ponderable and measurable aspects. It can say here what is so and what is not so, and it can speak with certainty. No discovery within this area, however, ever touches the deepest human problem.

We live in a truthful world, because we live in a world characterized by all manner of coherences and consistencies. At every turn we are met by interrelation and interdependence. There are objective stabilities which the armchair philosopher may question, but which nobody else ever does. In a traffic tangle, the Berkeleyan subjectivist watches the signals as anxiously as the most stubborn of realists!

FACT AND VERIFICATION

That which can be weighed and measured is the factual, and the factual is the objectively verifiable. This is the area where absolute proof of an alleged truth is possible. Repeat the situation before any normal mind, retrace the process of proof, and the mind will assent. Add a second mind, a third mind, a fourth mind, add a multitude of minds, and always the judgment follows, and it is the same judgment. Truth emerges inevitably under the steady coercion of objectivity. It does this because it is the very function of mind to make this possible. Truth unknown is still truth, but

truth known is truth become vivid and vital. Mind is an organ of reality whose nature it is to give truth this quality.

By becoming possessed in this way, truth also becomes meaningful. A truth that doesn't matter—*doesn't matter!* Truth that the mind cannot resist carries a meaning that the mind cannot resist. The meaning, so to speak, is as true as the truth which carries it. The meaning can be verified just as completely as the truth can be verified. In the realm of the measurable and the ponderable, the three judgments are inseparable and inevitable, namely: this is *what* it is (the *fact*), this is *how* it is (the *truth*), this is what it *signifies* (the *meaning*). Objective rationality answers to subjective rationality under a law of virtual determinism.

TRUTH BEYOND THE FACTUAL

Is there truth—and so meaning—beyond the factual—that is, beyond the range of verifiability? Or is the factual final in the objective, and is the logical final in the subjective? Is there reality which lacks the quality of absolute coerciveness, and is mind the organ of the noncoercive as much as it is of the coercive?

The questions are not merely rhetorical. They raise a fundamental issue. It is the issue of the unverifiable imperative. Life would be immensely simplified if it could be reduced to the dimension of the purely factual; it would be immensely more secure; but it would also be immensely less challenging. The standing criticism against the positivists and the empiricists must be that they refuse to move until they can see where to put down the foot. This does not doom them to standing still, but it does doom them to a very narrow dungeon: at least it would if they were not so happily inconsistent. A positivist who takes his boy to a three-ring circus is very much better than his philosophic creed!

There *may be* truths and reasons which cannot be verified. It is this quality of *maybeness* which arrests us. We shrink from an existence which has around it no gleaming aurora—and yet, is the aurora *real*? We see that if we limit ourselves to the objectively and absolutely verifiable, we starve our souls to death. We rob many a common word of its meaning. The basis of friendship is beyond the factual. The true bond of a home is beyond the factual. Something must be so that we do not *know* to be so if what we do know to be so is to make sense. The unprovable is the indispensable! "Bare reason," so far from being the measure of reality is not

even the full measure of man. Logic is master in the factual, but the factual is not exhaustive. There is that which I can find out, and what I can find out every other man can find out. But is that which cannot be found out *by the method which is infallible elsewhere* thereby proven the nonexistent, or at least the nonreal? There is that in whose permanence and reality we would fain believe. Without it life seems so bare. Yet the sad word must be written: because we *would* believe is in itself no demonstration of actuality.

THE PREDICAMENT OF VALUE-JUDGMENTS

Ethics is sometimes called a normative science. But the ethical norm can never have the impersonal exactitude of the norms of the laboratory science. The ethical life may root in a categorical imperative, but the moment the imperative begins to operate in a human situation it takes on noncategorical and therefore debatable elements. Particular "values" and particular "meanings," which constitute the very life of ethics, can be absolutely validated only by a supreme value and a supreme meaning, and what that is *nobody knows*.

Similarly with the affirmations, sanctions and processes of religion. These, like ethics, have to do with existence in other than its aspect of measurable exactitude. Where we venture the most and hope the most may be the point where we are most completely deceived. In a poem that is little short of horrendous, Byron narrates a dream of what happened when the sun "went out." Nothing was left except darkness: "darkness *was* the universe." Any man who will have the courage to eliminate from his mind all that which, judged by inviolable pure reason and irrefragable logic, he has no proper right to retain, will be appalled at the vacancy which then confronts him. Not that the vacancy will be complete. There will still be the factual. There will still be such truth as the factual declares. There will still be the universe of a Gradgrind—a universe of "facts and figures." But nothing more. If he would still have more, he must break the stranglehold of the purely sensory, the purely empiric, the purely logical, and become a man of faith.

And then he faces his predicament. The new truths and the new meanings which by his new method he has "discovered" are such as cannot be validated. No result can be more dependable than the process by which it was reached. The new "values" which he finds so satisfying have over against them a perpetual question mark: *they are incapable of verification*

by reference to a fixed independent nonsubjective standard. Factual judgments are anchored to the indubitable; value judgments are not.

Consequently, no man can ever say that he "found out" God; or that he "found out" all the truth about himself; or that he "found out" that love was enshrined at the heart of existence; or that he "found out" that there was a providential order; or that he "found out" that non-factual values were of the very stuff of existence. If "the awakening to the ultimate meanings of experience"¹ is what is meant by revelation, and if this is all the revelation that there is, then we still do not know that what we have "awakened" to is what we take it to be. In that case, why call it "revelation"? The "ultimate meanings" thus arrived at are still, for all we can tell, only human creations, conveniences for helping us to "get about" in the world with as little as possible of friction. The "futilitarianism" of Joseph Wood Krutch, and the "unyielding despair" of Bertrand Russell are but the result of the bold acceptance of a philosophy which many a modern Christian has adopted with a light heart, not realizing its potential nihilism.

THE FALLACIOUS ARGUMENT FROM EXPERIENCE

In religious education circles today it is quite generally taught that no belief is valid which experience does not support. Ethical truth and religious truth are therefore put on the same plane with scientific truth. The plausible analogy is a complete fallacy, and many a youth is being robbed thereby of his Christian heritage. "Try the 'Jesus way,' and your experience will prove that it is right." No, it will not. It will only prove that "the Jesus way" leads to certain results; *it will never prove that those results rather than some others yield life's ultimate meanings*. If you want these results, then clearly this is the way to get them, but who says that these results represent what life is for? It is quite possible that they do, but we want some reason, apart from our own opinion, for saying so.

From the experience of being burned, we argue back to fire. The chain of reasoning is unbroken and unbreakable. It always leads to the same conclusion—that fire with a certain specific describable power is an absolute constituent of existence. We then propose to demonstrate certain moral and spiritual realities in the same fashion, and we do not seem to realize that we can do this only by making an *assumption* whose validity

¹ "The Form of Revelation," by Albert Edward Day. RELIGION IN LIFE, Vol. X, No. 4, p. 495.

is not itself demonstrable. Pure empiricism can arrive at fire as a constituent of the objective: it can never arrive at Eternal Love as a constituent of the objective. In the one sphere we can prove truth by experience. In the other sphere we cannot, because all we do is to work one term against the other, but we have no third term, no *fixity*, by which to check them. "My experience proves that I am reconciled to God." No. You *believe* you are reconciled to God, but you believe that only because you also believe many other things; and the more of these beliefs you have, the farther you move away from radical scientific empiricism.

The desirable is not necessarily the existential. Who determines the desirable? We do. It is this very subjectivism that disturbs the logic. The problem is further complicated by the wide range in what is held to be desirable. The Axis powers employ the same argument from preference as the democracies: "What we want is right. War must be abolished. All men must live together as brothers. Natural barriers must be broken down. All must be for each, and each must be for all." Who says this? *We* say it. Yet it still remains that uncounted numbers of men say the exact opposite. Who is right?

This is the predicament we are in, and no "argument from experience" can deliver us from it. If all we have to go by in these matters is only a "discovery," if there is nowhere a "given," no absolute by which to check our desires and purposes, no Reality from which we can move into experience, but only experience from which we build up a hypothesis, then we can never escape the fear that the universe is not finally on our side.

This is the *impasse*. Perhaps, therefore, we may now be willing to consider whether the only way we can have the universe on our side is *by our being on the side of the universe*. But how can we ever "discover" what that side is?

CHRIST THE REVELATION

All this uncertainty vanishes on one condition. It is the condition that the ultimate *truth* of things and so the ultimate *meaning* of things shall have come to us directly from the ultimate *source* of things. God Himself must speak, and we must know what he said. And what is Christianity but precisely the declaration that there has been this Divine Word? God has spoken; we have His speech; and in it we learn His will for the world. The-Word-that-was-God eventually appeared as the-Word-that-was-Man.

It is obvious that the process of this revelation involves many questions. They cannot be discussed here in any detail. The writer, if he may be permitted to say so, has recently considered these related questions at some length,² and any repetition here is unnecessary. It must suffice to say that the process involved an individual-social movement. "At various times and in various ways God spoke to the fathers by the prophets." The Divine Word entered more and more through "chosen" men into the web of history. It created its own *milieu*, and that *milieu* provided the conditions in which the Word gathered increasing strength until, when the fullness of the time was come, the Word "became flesh."

Jesus Christ is that Living Word of God. He does not simply speak for God as does the prophet: He is God speaking. This Life has no other significance than that of Divine Self-Revelation. Here is the truth of God, the truth of man, the truth of the world. Here is finality, absoluteness, authority. Here is the standard by which all moral and spiritual values are to be checked. Here is the light to whose beams all meanings are to be exposed. Any alleged truth yielding a value or meaning which lies beyond the range of ordinary scientific verification is to be judged by this Word. What cannot endure the judgment is to be rejected as false.

THE ISSUE OF THE REVELATION

It is a simple matter to deny to Jesus Christ this significance. To do so is, curiously enough, regarded as a mark of superior intelligence! He is just one more of the world's wistful souls. He was but a man seeking God like the rest of us. What happened to Him at the end represented merely what the world did to Him: it was the world's raucous comment on self-giving love, not what God Himself was enduring for the sake of the world.

If this is the case, then we are exactly as we were before. So far as any knowledge of the ultimate issues of life is concerned, we are still in the dark. The question of questions is still unanswered. We still do not know what God is, nor even *that* He is. We still do not know that Holy Love is on the throne of the universe. We still do not know that Life is ever Lord of Death. We still do not know that mere brute force is not the final fact. We still do not know that when a man has laid himself on the altar of human good, he has not committed the supreme folly. If

² *A Philosophy of the Christian Revelation*, Harper and Brothers, 1940.

"revelation is the awakening to the ultimate meanings of experience," and we have no way but a purely subjective one of determining that these are indeed the "ultimate meanings," then in what sense is there "revelation"? If there is not an objective and independent revelation which may become the basis of certainty, then for the deep pain of our spirits there are still only palliatives, but no cure. The haunting question mark still stands. The anchor still has not gripped immovable rock, and it may drag at the very moment when the danger is greatest and stability is most needed.

Jesus Christ is God self-disclosed in human history under human conditions. This is the essential Christian claim stated in starkest simplicity. Therefore it is here that we learn what God is. He is such a God as *could* do this and as *would* do this for us men and for our salvation. What Jesus Himself said and what He did and what He endured are but the derivatives of this central fact, not the central fact itself. The *record* of the revelation bears upon itself the stamp of its human authors, as does also the apostolic *explication* of the revelation. Hence the right and obligation of criticism. We desire to see more and more clearly *that which created the record*. Underlying those words of men which are the Gospels is the Living Word of God Himself. We confront not a Word that is distinct from God, but a Living Word that is God. Our confidence in God is not simply on the ground that Jesus talked about Him (many another man has "talked about" God), but on the ground that the God that Jesus talked about was at the very time showing by His sacrificial self-disclosure in Jesus that He was indeed just such a God as that—and *even more*. The reality of this God is the final explanation and justification of all human faith in value, of all human search for meaning, of all human conviction that there must be a Master Light of all our seeing. For "if the light that is in us be darkness, how great is that darkness!"

REVELATION AND FAITH

There is, indeed, one consideration here which is crucial. The revelation is not self-authenticating. *Datum* though it is, and not "discovery," we still have to "awaken" to it. It does not carry the necessarily coercive quality that pertains to the bare facts of the objective world. It still belongs in that order of reality which requires the free assent of the mind. That is to say, we may accept it or we may not. Faith is a necessity. Consequently, since all value and all meaning except that which is precisely

calculable from assured fact depends upon a degree of faith, and faith may always be mistaken, how, it will be asked, are we any better off for the alleged revelation, since it also depends on faith.

The question is a proper one, but the two cases are not the same. If we bring all that we owe to Jesus Christ under the general theory of value, and account for him and his influence on the world in the same way in which we account for all alleged goodness anywhere—if we do this, then by robbing ourselves of certainty as respects the purported revelation we have rendered even more precarious the status of all value and meaning elsewhere. A universe which has no place for *revealed* value becomes suspect as a home of even *discovered* value. Faith in value can never serve to validate the revelation, but *the revelation does validate the faith in value*. The revelation in Christ is an absolute if it is anything more than a questionable human discovery. Such an absolute validates not necessarily all values and all meanings, but the faith that value and meaning are essential constituents of the ultimate. The meaning-seeking impulse which is inseparable from our human nature appears as no longer a mere expedient for cushioning our present existence, no longer a mere device of the social process. Instead, it appears as our truest linkage with reality.

We can hardly resist the conclusion, therefore, that if Jesus Christ is the absolute Word of God, then the God who has thus spoken will have spoken in many other ways. This necessarily sets up the problem of discrimination and interpretation, of correction, rejection, and correlation, with all that that implies both as to our own freedom and as to the guidance of the Holy Spirit. These, however, are consequential matters. The fountainhead proper is the revelation. Faith in the revelation is faith in an absolute. Failing that, God is retired to the realm of the hypothetical, and God cannot be retired without much else being retired with Him. The alternative to revelation is permanent uncertainty and confusion for all; for those few souls who have the courage to accept the drastic implication of a faith that lacks all objective buttressing, the alternative is an ultimate black despair.

REVELATION AND AUTHORITY

Such a revelation is authoritative. It gives the man who accepts it something to say, and with reason. He speaks not in his own name, or in the name of any other man, but in the name of God. He knows what is the will and purpose of God not only for himself, but also for the whole

world. Questions of procedure, of course, still remain. Revelation yields rather ends and purposes than methodology. He who accepts the revelation in Christ brings its light to bear on every situation, but this does not preclude the exercise of his own intelligence as to ways and means. What it does is to point the direction, inspire the effort and assure the goal.

The revelation engenders confidence in those whom it possesses. It gives the teacher something to teach. It gives the preacher something to expound. It gives the priest something to represent. It gives the prophet something to declare. It gives the evangelist something to evangelize with. It gives the missionary a reason for his task. It gives the businessman a standard for his transactions. It gives the statesman a criterion for his policies. To the simplest of souls in the most obscure of walks it gives a sense of high vocation. And if you ask how and why, let Macaulay answer for this simple soul: "Events which shortsighted politicians ascribed to earthly causes had been ordained on his account. For his sake empires had risen, and flourished, and decayed. For his sake the Almighty had proclaimed his will by the pen of the evangelist and the harp of the prophet. He had been wrested by no common Deliverer from the pen of no common foe. He had been ransomed by the sweat of no vulgar agony, by the blood of no earthly sacrifice. It was for him that the sun had been darkened, that the rocks had been rent, that the dead had risen, that all nature had shuddered at the groans of her expiring God." He for whom the revelation is final and absolute will not be harshly dogmatic. He will have the tolerance which is the offspring of sympathy. Nevertheless, for himself there will be forthrightness of utterance, clarity of purpose, a banner to hold aloft, a clear shining path, a sense of urgency, a passion for souls.

REVELATION AND INTERPRETATION

Moreover, the revelation vests every situation not merely with a meaning, but with its true meaning. Every situation will mean what existence itself ultimately means. The part will be seen in the light of the whole. It is no longer necessary to wait to see what meaning will perchance emerge of itself from a given situation. The familiar process of the instrumentalist—experience, meaning, value, belief—operative as it may be in one restricted area, ceases to be all-inclusive. Belief, instead of being determined *by* experience becomes in this wider area determinative *of* experience. There is an area where we must believe according to the

experience. But there is another area where the experience must be according to the belief. What the belief calls for—this must be sought, this must be accepted, this must be treated as of the will of God.

The revelation will create doctrine. It is inevitable that reflection on the revelation will become expressed in the forms of human speech. But the revelation does not necessarily validate all the doctrines into which men have sought to formulate it. Doctrines are therefore only proximate truths. They are not themselves the revelation, but they are the revelation as humanly apprehended and set forth. Doctrine is authoritative only to the extent to which it can be shown to issue from the revelation with the same logical inevitability with which truth issues from objective fact.

Judged by this test, there can be false doctrine as well as true. An alleged doctrine which denies or even only ignores what the revelation manifestly means or intends is no true doctrine. Thus the doctrine that Jesus is "only a man," if it is taken as it is usually intended to be taken, is a false doctrine. It is false, not only because it does not convey the full truth of the revelation, but because it distorts that truth, and distorts it at precisely the point which makes the revelation actually a revelation. In the language of the ancient creed, Jesus Christ is both Very Man and Very God, and it is only the fact of His being Very God that gives the fact of His being Very Man any absolute significance as to the ultimate meanings of experience—and, let us add, as to the ultimate meaning of existence itself.

THE CHOICE BEFORE US

The writer is fully aware of the fact that many will dismiss with a shrug what has now been written. A contemptuously uttered "Traditionalism!" will be regarded by them as a sufficient rebuttal of the argument. The airy gesture must be endured with whatever grace may be. More than a suspicion remains, however, that it is not merely the argument that is being waved aside: that would be a small matter. Instead, it is *what the argument is about* that is being waved aside—the whole Christian claim. Because when revelation—*this* revelation, and revelation in *this* sense—is rejected, Christianity takes its place as simply one more form of human aspiration. It becomes a ladder set up on the earth, not a ladder let down from heaven.

Those who want it this way must be allowed their choice. But it is a strange choice, especially for those to whom Jesus Christ is very real, the

accepted attest of all that is lovely, the inspiration of all that is best. For in rejecting the revelation while still accepting Christ, they are saying that *they choose Him because they approve Him*. They make themselves the judges of finality. What He brought is not true because He brought it, but because they have voted it true! So it could have been just as true if somebody else had brought it, or if somebody else had said it. The connection of Jesus with what they regard as the final truth of things is accidental. In Himself, He is but one more member of the race. He is the world's Saviour, not because it was for that very purpose that He came into the world, but because by our suffrages we have assigned Him that vocation.

This is pure pragmatism divorced from any absoluteness. It is Protagoras all over again. We declare ourselves the final judges of ultimate truth, of ultimate value, of ultimate reality. We do not listen to Jesus because He has an intrinsic right to speak, but because He pleases us. If He happens to say anything that does not please us, we can conveniently ignore it.

To insist that this attitude is still compatible with belief in Christ as revelation is simply to be ingenuous. The revelation is not to be judged; instead, its function is to judge. *Securus judicat orbis terrarum*. Only that can judge all which is the reason for all, and the reason for all is the revelation in Christ. But on purely *a priori* grounds the revelation is so modified as that it loses its absoluteness. "God *could not* have done this: therefore He did not. Very Man *could not* be Very God: therefore he was not. An absolute *could not* appear in history, since history is relative: therefore it did not." The one divine Deed which would settle forever in the minds of men the divine reality, the divine love, the divine purpose, God must forsooth be precluded from performing because our "reason" pronounces it impossible! We challenge God to speak with complete unmis-takability, and when He does thus speak we refuse to hear. "There came a voice out of heaven, and the multitude that stood by and heard it said that it had—*thundered!*"

"TRIBULATION TEN DAYS"

But always there have been those who have taken the voice to be a voice, and who have listened to what it had to say. There be still such. It is a curious circumstance that they should seem to be few. In many

quarters of the Church today it is supposed that the man of real courage and of real insight—the *man of brains*—is the man who has destroyed the “myth” of the Incarnation; whereas the man who by great travail of soul and mind, and in the face of a score of difficulties arising from his own temperament, has fought his way through to where he sees that so far as the Christian faith is finally concerned it is the Incarnation or nothing, a sure Word from God or only an endless round of human guesses—he may expect to be dismissed as a man who is “unaware of the contemporary,” satisfied to “live in the past,” the champion of “an outmoded superstition,” in a word, a *man of no brains*. Perhaps; but the future is still to be heard from, and even in the present there may be a sign. It is a painful experience to be read out of the synagogue of lordly reason by the high-priestly intellectualists who preside at the solemn councils there, and who devise the tests whereby all things are measured, including God Himself. But that is a small price for any man to pay in return for the mind’s sudden focussing with such complete clarity at the point of Jesus Christ as that he *knows*, and *knows that he knows*.

The Church appears to have chosen—and wrongly. But the Church will choose again—and rightly. First, however, the harvest of the wrong choice must be reaped—reaped in confusion, reaped in divided counsels, reaped in spiritual impotency, reaped in lost authority. “The wood, hay, stubble” will yet be consumed and the Church be saved—but so as by fire. The unheeding Trojans called Cassandra mad. Mad she may have been, but she was not wrong. At least the lonely and un comforted Ænone would listen to her:

“ . . . I will rise and go
Down into Troy, and ere the stars come forth
Talk with the wild Cassandra, for she says
A fire dances before her, and a sound
Rings ever in her ears of arméd men.”

Cassandras are unpleasant persons, but they have their uses. If they were less possessed they would be less authentic. And if they were listened to more often, towers that have crashed would have remained standing. *De te fabula!*

Rugged Religion

LOUIS CLINTON WRIGHT

PROTESTANT Christianity—to say nothing here about other religious bodies—has not for at least two generations been giving a sufficiently rugged demonstration of the Christian religion. Over wide areas of the Church a kind of Pollyanna goodness and an amiable humanism, with clever ecclesiastical maneuverings, have become a kind of external substitute for essential Christianity. Dr. E. Stanley Jones once called it “inoculating the world with a mild form of Christianity.” One needs only to compare average current Christianity with the major creative periods of ethical religion—the prophets, apostles, Church fathers, reformers, missionary pioneers—to waken the clear conviction that something vastly more rugged is required if our churches, preachers and people are to face in triumphant mood the world of today and tomorrow. Where elemental Christianity does rise up out of the titanic struggle of man to be man, and to find God; where it faces the awful wonder of an orderly universe and decides to obey “the moral law within,” it still becomes the dominant force for triumphant personal living and brotherly sharing.

And we have to return to that. Probably great preachers and great preaching is right now rising far above the average of other times. World conditions may well drive Christian leaders near enough to the mind of God to become once more messengers of a new revelation and heralds of a new age for mankind on this planet.

The Christian religion is still capable of revolutionizing youth and producing in them a dominant dedication that will discipline life toward the goals of God—the divine will. All true saints and prophets of God faced such a dedication in the hot, unsettled, ambitious days of youth. Moses, Jeremiah, Daniel, John, Augustine, Chrysostom, Savonarola, Francis, Huss, Wesley, Knox and all the rest responded to the dangerous calls of God while life was throbbing with youthful ambitions. Furthermore, they accepted tough assignments from God in the face of a hostile society. Regardless of political, social or ecclesiastical authority, they shaped their actions by their clear faith in a good God's will and went ahead, “not counting life dear unto themselves.” As one looks straight at these, and then turns to the whole network of current church programs with

their emphasis upon statistics, budgets, forum discussions, social clubs, preachers graded by salary levels, and rituals barren of spiritual content, can he avoid crying in his very heart for a more daring, vital, powerful, world-conquering New Testament religion?

WHY RUGGED RELIGION IS LACKING

The causes for this prevailing impotence and spiritual numbness and religious shallowness over wide circles of organized Christianity are the old, old obstacles written large in the centuries of Church history.

First religious superficiality always appears when faith becomes an orthodox system of thought, the Church a traditional ecclesiastical machine with a body of dogmatic creeds and routine rituals, thereby putting second things first. Those who have watched the Wesleyan Revival crystallize into a Methodist Church, know how ecclesiasticism can usurp the place of vital religion at many points where necessary change takes place. Always the Christian Church is needing radical, rugged reformation from within lest human compromise crowd God out and the institution persists as a kind of lifeless skeleton.

Another cause which always produces enervated Christian loyalty and retarded effort is the substitution of traditional routine for fresh experience and new venturing. The dull, worshipless singing of the "good old songs" by an uninspired, comfortable and settled congregation, indicates all too often a hardening of the spiritual arteries and poor blood circulation. There will be no rugged expression of the Christian religion under those circumstances. Children grow up with no personal commitment to a living God and little moral sensitivity to God's will. The youth of that community will gain much in the hymns, ideals, friendships and from the "inner few" who live near to God, but they will not know how to pray, how to relate a living God to their personal problems, how to confront social paganism with a Christian conscience, or how to choose careers within God's will. Many of our oncoming youth inadequately nourished by the food which average churches provide will either have more vital religion or none at all.

Still another cause for anemic Christian living is the prevailing habit in Protestantism of discussing religious topics in a brilliant intellectual mood without carrying through to driving convictions and on to Christian action. We hold a service and discuss the subject of prayer without praying any

better. We analyze quotations about faith and believe no more. Debates are held on social responsibility and each one remains as selfish as before. Worship programs and "opening exercises" are conducted with almost no one drawing nearer to the living God. This juggling of abstract Christian ideas as a sort of intellectual gymnastics without creating a new Acts of the Apostles is a deadly influence in many a pulpit and in church devotions. A religion of mere talk becomes monotonous. No wonder youth is willing to share but not be preached at. "Not everyone that saith unto me, Lord, Lord—but he that doeth the will of my Father."

Again, false gods in new forms, raw paganism and the utter godlessness of a clever age weaken the faithful. This cannot be set aside lightly. Human schemes are shattered. Glittering gods again promise much. Our world is chaotic. Just when the Christian religion seemed to have nearly reached its final form and needed only to be spread over the earth to bring God's reign and man's brotherhood, we are shocked into acknowledging that it must be thought all through again for a new age, new world conditions, even for the Christianizing of our own youth in our own homes. The Christian religion does have a rugged, dominant, god-Given message about race, money, raw materials, national socialism, war, freedom, God, man and other basic human interests which can be proclaimed with a "Thus saith the Lord." But the very successes of godless brute force compel us to feel that the mightiest implications of the Christian religion and the cross-bearing disciplines that bend life Godward have been allowed to lag behind in the vast struggle for world mastery. Our message is confused, our action is timid, our faith is weak, our sense of God is dim. Barth is right, "Woe to the Church if, when the hour and occasion comes, she is silent, or merely meditates and discusses, or just falls back into a bare recitation!" False gods and pagan customs dim the vision of too many churches and erase the needed distinction between godly and godless.

To mention three more causes which weaken Christendom today, let us boldly recognize the blighting influence from that subtle trinity: a materialistic philosophy, a behavioristic psychology and a humanistic theology. These have seeped into the popular thinking and influence moral choices and the religious beliefs of our times.

Benedetto Croce said in 1933: "Our civilization is technically perfect and spiritually barbarous; ravenous of wealth and indifferent to good; utterly insensible to all that ought to move the human conscience. All its

powers seem employed in selfish aggression or defense. This is the dense atmosphere in which we are stifled, which painfully chokes and crushes every freedom of the heart, every delicate sensibility, every quickness of the mind." Only a far more vital and rugged Church can turn the tide to a spiritual, ethical, Christian way of life and co-operative living.

FORCES WHICH CHRISTIANIZE MANKIND

There appears no scientific scheme, nor elaborate world organization, nor appeal for good will, nor authority of state or Church, which is in itself or combined with the others, at all adequate for solving the individual and social problems of today's human world. As in other days even the untutored masses begin to sense the fact that only the fructifying energies of spiritual religion offer a substantial hope. In the past, leaders of mankind have met imperial tyranny with the rugged faith that God had the way forward which they were bound to follow at any cost. In such periods religion becomes once more theological, God-centered and creative. Convictions become clear. Wrongs are named and confronted. Men dare to suffer and find unforeseen energies for constructive and triumphant living. Strong leaders are developed. Old orthodoxies yield and heresies become orthodox. Prophets are persecuted but become the leaders of a new day. The history of man's spiritual progress across the centuries would indicate that only a far more rugged religion than is now prevalent can be expected to revitalize and rebuild our shattered world.

Such was the prophetic movement in Israel calling for ethical monotheism and social justice. What they opposed is as significant as what they favored. Faith in God ceased to be mild, speculative or routine conformity and became commanding, righteous, revolutionary. "They endured as seeing Him who is invisible."

Likewise, the birth of the Christian religion and the struggles of its apostles and martyrs with the Roman Empire laid bare the basic, bold elements in religion. Paul, standing on Mar's Hill in the very shadow of the Acropolis with its heritage of Greek religion and wisdom, and daring to proclaim Jesus as superior to all that, is a fair symbol of rugged religion. It represents faith in God on the march in any age. The early disciples out of prison, and threatened with death, standing up boldly to proclaim, "We thought that we should obey God rather than men," rests down upon indomitable religious convictions.

In the Protestant Reformation the records of Waldo, Huss, Knox, Zwingli, Bruno, Tauler, Luther and Erasmus reveal the rugged elements of organic religion. Seized with convictions concerning God, truth, justice, love and human values, and the tragedy of sin against all these, no opposition could halt them. It was a life-and-death struggle, and they brought all they said, did and dared under rigid discipline to God's will.

That type of religion has ever rebuilt a chaotic civilization and lifted men and peoples to a new culture and to new creative living. Leaders of ethical religion clearly have such a task on hand today.

First, then, whenever religion has become revolutionary enough to transform individuals and reshape the culture of an age, it has been done through the recovery of faith in the living God. "Have faith in God" summons us everywhere from the pages of the New Testament as well as from the lives and words of prophets, apostles and Church fathers. The Church will recover deeper prayer and greater power only as it recovers a more God-centered, though not less a man-centered religious faith and life. All along the line, in facing world issues, we need more of God in Protestant Christianity. We go hurrying on with our human schemes and become earthbound. "Be still and know that I am God" is an essential voice for this hectic age.

Such faith in God is basic also for reconstructing personality for superior Christian living.

Once more the test of our faith is, Can a Son of Man be lifted into sonship to God? What difference does religion make with one's life? is a burning question with students. It is a day for emphasizing intensive rather than extensive Christianity—quality rather than quantity. Little children and profane citizens recognize and commend a Christlike person. Real Christian persons stand out today as always on the world horizons.

As Sherwood Eddy said once, "Faith is not believing something irrational; it is doing something for God regardless of consequences." Keeping intact the baptismal covenant, "Wilt thou, then, obediently keep God's holy will and commandments and walk in the same all the days of thy life?" is high witnessing today. Nothing but faith in God can gird the wills and motives of average men to do right rather than wrong, to be true rather than false. We require a personal "Thus saith the Lord" that impels us to go straight in a crooked age. Christian morals for many even in our churches are just about bankrupt unless faith in God re-creates some

new heaven-born convictions and a new persuasion of grace to make men "more than conquerors through him who loved us and gave himself for us." It used to be asked, "Are you saved?" "Have you been converted?" "Have you experienced religion?" Jesus declared, "Ye must be born again." Those phrases have lost much of their meanings for our day. But the facts to which they refer need recovering. A spiritually defeated world needs to know that a rugged faith in God still makes it possible to say, "If any man be in Christ he is a new creature." How penetrating are the words of Jesus now, "Ye are the light of the world." "Ye are my witnesses."

A second rugged element essential to Protestant Christianity, if it is to be a revolutionary religion, is dauntless faith in man's freedom. The Christian religion is rooted and grounded in the assumption that men and mankind are free to reach, strive, rise, grow, lift, love, become. Talents can be multiplied. Wills can be lifted into a God's will. Heaven can be gained. God's way can be followed on earth. Truth can be obeyed. Men can choose their way forward to God, or away from Him. It is a tenet of Protestant Christianity written deep in the New Testament and the prophets that man cannot abuse or abandon his freedom without abolishing his human nature. Misused liberty brings individuals, families and nations back into bondage. Freedom was not conferred upon us by any State, but by the Creator, and no State or Church or religious system can be permitted to take it away.

But freedom is dangerous for any man who has not submitted his will to a higher will. "Our wills are ours we know not how, Our wills are ours to make them Thine." If we use our freedom to defy God, it thereby destroys us. If we use our freedom to exploit others, we build disorder and strife. Selfish freedom destroys itself. What is to be said in America where men came in order to "worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience," and now their grandsons use that freedom not to worship God at all. Shall we wonder why "democracy" as well as ethical religion is sick?

Protestant Christianity looks upon a free man as the basic unit of humanity in the plan of God. Each person is a complete being. He cannot be divided. Nor can he be a mere cell, or tool, or section for a unit greater than himself. The National Social State which regards itself as the basic unit of which man is only a part, violates something basic in the Christian

religion. As Barth says: "National Socialism has for its part long since declared that it is absolutely unable to recognize either its own deity in Him whom the Church calls God, or its own life in the Christian life." Against that thing ethical religion must be bold to speak and act and even suffer. There is an eternal difference between the organization of material stuff which is thrown together by force and the organism of growing life which develops voluntarily by its own inherent forces. Religion must take its stand for the inherent worth of a man as man, and not as a thing to be built into a social state by force. This principle calls for a titanic struggle for which only the most rugged, convinced and bold religion is adequate.

Third: This brings us face to face with the demand for rugged religion in the whole matter of peace and war. One hesitates to add more words to this endless discussion which is far more a topic of popular conversation in America than a life and death struggle. We should know now that sentimental talk will not bring peace on earth.

Probably a decade of shallow peace talk without regard for the human foundations of justice, the struggle of peoples for economic decency and the new international and industrial era of mankind has done more to lay the foundations of war than history will record. Against such an interpretation of human peace oppressed peoples and economically starved nations have every reason to rage.

But if it is really to face today's world, ethical religion needs a rugged voice and daring hand. Can the Church wring her hands in agony over the slaughter of innocent peoples, while continuing to do nothing more than damn war? More than peace or war is involved. More than democracy is at stake. If the death of the prophets and the cross of Christ, and the burning of martyrs, have anything to say to us it is that we boldly and clearly draw issues in the vast world struggle and take the consequences. The writer of the Apocalypse dared call Rome "The Beast." The Church cannot proclaim God's message to men now without naming wrong and clashing with false gods.

Some of us who hear the really great messages concerning ideal peace share completely those holy insights. We love with warm affection the prophetic souls who see deep into the will of God and all good men. But having listened and shared the vision glorious we must for ourselves reluctantly place those dreams along with Isaiah's and others till man on this planet has learned over wider regions and in better manner to be

sons of God. Thank God for faith in the potentialities of mankind and in the leadings of God for oncoming futures. But hating war, dreaming of peace, loving peacemakers, thankful for the Christian forces of peace and all the rest, we go out and face a world at war, a world in sin, a world that breeds hatred and strife and more war. And we know that God's peace cannot be built on the colossal wrongs by which the world seeks to move forward now. We are not guaranteed peace in personal conflicts within, family adjustment, civic life. Peace is a by-product of righteousness and conquest over evil. There are wrongs greater than war, of which war is a product. There are virtues greater than peace, on which peace is founded.

Have we been making the religion of Jesus Christ too soft? Have we been toning it down to our convenience? Are many of our youth out of touch with the thunderings of divine law, the unswerving justice and divine righteousness of the prophets, the words of Jesus, "I came not to destroy the law or the prophets—I came not to destroy but to fulfill," or the spirit of the reformers who recovered vital religion from formalism and externalism? Have we misled the oncoming generation into a complacent religion that belittles God, misses the revolutionary character of the gospel and has a blurred sense concerning right and wrong? Any peace which is sound and just, resolving old hatreds, national and race prejudices, bringing a fair division of earth's raw materials and an interchange of cultures, requires struggle, sacrifice and wisdom only second to war.

Opposed as we all are to war; sure as we all are that it is ungodly; knowing as we all do that it settles nothing; the fact is we are in a world of war. "The Church does not speak *to* a world situation but *within* it." Helpless people and human freedom and ethical religion and God Himself are being challenged. The very foundations on which the Church is built are being flaunted. Shall the Church counsel men not to defend these in the present crisis? Can the Church be neutral in today's world? Shall religion count the death of human bodies as greater than the death of the human soul? Little use to cry "peace, peace when there is no peace." If she does not speak clearly here, can the Church speak effectively anywhere? The Church may be talking too much about peace and forgetting more important values.

Finally, one other point where religion needs a more rugged leadership. Christianity centers its faith and teaching in a God of love. Both

the idea of God and the idea of love in the concepts of current religion have been softened down and sentimentalized until they have lost much of their redemptive and driving power. The prevailing concept of God in Protestant Christianity makes him too much an indulgent Parent, too tolerant to judge harshly and too amiable to damn wrong. Likewise, the concept of love has not only been dragged in the dirt by making it only a depraved expression of biological desire, but even in its higher interpretation it has been made soft, chiefly romantic and quite divorced from stern righteousness and good will. Religion ever says, "Thou *shalt* love God," man, the good. It appeals to the will. Divine love shines most clearly from the commands and laws of God. "If ye love me, ye will keep my commandments." We are greatly needing a far more impelling love of God within human hearts. Our present-day manifestations of Christian love in the average Church is not big enough, Godlike enough, passionate enough, or sufficiently just to reincarnate the gospel of our Lord for the remaking of men. That love and the God of love need to be far more rugged concepts in the Church if it is to become the dominant agency in rebuilding and reuniting the world.

THE UNFAILING GOD

This is a great day for religious zeal and growth for people who really believe in God; but it is a time of peril for cowards and unbelievers. It does something to every one of us to believe profoundly that "Our God Is Marching On." The pole star has not changed. The seasons do not fail. Light still shines. God is on the throne of the universe. The moral virtues have not lost their values. He is "able to make the wrath of man to praise Him." God is not afraid of the would-be earthly lords of our day. As our Creator and Father, He has not brought the human race this far forward across the patient centuries to throw us now as rubbish to the pile. God still loves men. He sees through our human muddles. He is not discouraged. He is not quitting the awful venture in man and human freedom on this planet. Many will remember a recent cartoon of a broken human figure, screaming out the despairing cry, "Has God forgotten us?" And farther back in the shadows a sage with an open book replies, "No, God has not forgotten you, but have you forgotten God?"

Again the hard lesson must be learned that there are not two ways for a man or for men to live in a God's world. There is nothing to do but

turn back to God's way. It is a "narrow way," but it is the way of life. God has a way forward and man can go that way. "O, for a faith that will not shrink, tho pressed by every foe." God has faced crucial periods before.

This is a favorable time for a thoughtful man to believe in God, for, if men could get away with the greed, selfishness, lust, fiendish exploitation, war, worship of mammon, immorality and all the rest that they have tried for even the last twenty-five years, *and nothing happen*, we might wonder whether this is really a God's world at all and moral to the core. It is just because "our little systems" fail that we believe, as John Bennett says, "The grain of the universe is with righteousness." We are in a world where men do not "gather grapes of thorns nor figs of thistles," but "whatsoever a man (or nation) soweth that shall he also reap." We can stand up and dare to believe with Faber:

"For right is right, since God is God
And right the day must win,
To doubt would be disloyalty,
To falter, would be sin."

Rugged religion sufficient for tomorrow is much more than this. But it is at least much of this. It is this kind of religion that the Church needs if God's work is to be done. "Wherefore take unto you the whole armor of God."

Life in the Universe

DINSMORE ALTER

MAN is life, and since man is self-centered his first interest is life. Most conversations between people, whether they be educated or ignorant, concern life in some phase or other. Probably not one discussion in a hundred concerns physical facts that are unrelated entirely to man or to other life. All the gossip that occupies us during our social intercourse has to do with the actions of this or that person or group of persons. When a person whose thoughts have not contemplated at all the infinity of space has them directed for the first time toward existence other than terrestrial, his first question usually is, "Is there life?" The public lecturer on astronomy who visits service clubs and other similar gatherings and who permits questions at the end of his talk usually receives more inquiries concerning life and its possibilities than concerning any other subject. Even the scientist who wishes to detach himself entirely from all prejudice finds that in the images of even the most abstract things, as for example, space, he himself seems to be hovering as an invisible presence. However, despite all this universal urge toward knowing of life and all of its ramifications, there is very little that science has been able to point out concerning possibilities of it other places than on the earth.

We know that our sun is a body of extremely hot gases, varying in temperature from about $11,000^{\circ}$ Fahrenheit at its apparent surface to perhaps 100,000,000 such degrees at the center. At temperatures like that all compounds are decomposed into their atoms, and even the atoms are stripped of all their outer parts. With such primitive conditions we can be certain that life in the sense in which we define it cannot exist on the sun, and since our sun is merely a rather typical small star, we are certain that the 100,000 million stars of our own galaxy and the similar stars in the 100 million other such galaxies observable in our biggest telescopes have no life. Chemical compounds and, therefore, bodies to be inhabited by life can exist only in regions which are far cooler than we find in the stars. Yet this coolness must not be carried to too great an extreme, for even at temperatures far above the absolute zero almost every substance has been turned from gas and liquid to a solid state. With a solid state we do not find the flexibility that seems to be necessary for growing bodies, and if life

should be found in bodies without either liquid or gaseous constituents it would seem necessary for it to have a very static, inactive sort of existence.

Our sun is surrounded by a family of planets or worlds of which the earth is one. Some of these are larger, some are smaller, but on only one other do we find any apparent possibility of life. Mercury has no air at all. Venus has a dense atmosphere, principally of carbon dioxide, with no evidence of water vapor nor of free oxygen. If it had vegetable life it seems certain that free oxygen would exist. It also is hard for us to imagine life without water. That world has just about the same sort of an atmosphere that the earth would have if its atmosphere were composed of the gases poured out by volcanoes.

When we go out to the planet Jupiter we find that it receives $1/26$ the light and heat that we do; Saturn receives $1/90$; Uranus, $1/370$; Neptune, about $1/900$; and lastly Pluto, about $1/1500$ of what we do. Under such temperature conditions every form of life that we know of here on the earth would die. Under such temperature conditions water could not possibly exist as a body fluid, and while we cannot say for certain, it seems quite probable that no other fluid would exist in the large quantities which are necessary for a proper support of life. Only on the planet Mars, a little world far smaller than the earth, does there seem to be any hope of finding fellow beings, and even on that little world, conditions are very adverse. It has an atmosphere with a density of about $1/5$ that on the highest of our mountains. Exposed to the surface we would die in the fraction of a second. It is a desert world without oceans or lakes. Its day is nearly the same length as our own, but at the equator the temperature rises to perhaps 40° above zero each afternoon and drops to more than 100° below zero each night. Only around the poles can we imagine any form of animal life existing permanently. There, during the long spring and summer, the temperature rises to what we might even describe as hot, and it would be possible for life to be active during those favorable seasons and then to bury itself in the ground to protect it from an unimaginable cold.

At intervals of a little more than two years the orbits of Mars and of the earth cause these two planets to approach to a distance which, in unusually favorable years, may be as little as 35,000,000 miles. Halfway between these approaches the planets swing apart until they are separated by nearly 250,000,000 miles. The approaches of the planet Mars always bring to the layman, and to some extent to the professional astronomer,

the question of life in other parts of our universe. The astronomer can speak definitely as an astronomer about only a small phase of this interesting subject. He can, as we have seen, tell us that life of any sort is very improbable on any of our sun's planets except Mars. He can tell us also that his observations indicate the probability but not the certainty of vegetable life on that little world, and he can tell us that the question of animal life there is an entirely open one. We have little evidence, either pro or con, on this last point, except that we ourselves could not live for a single second if exposed on the Martian surface.

It will be impossible for astronomers ever to build telescopes which will show any planets that may move around other stars. Perhaps it seems foolish to make such an absolute statement in view of the many times that later discoveries have shown the truth to be contrary to earlier views. For example, an astronomer of the last generation stated very definitely that airplanes would never fly around the world, and that it was foolish to consider that they ever could drop dynamite on fortifications or on cities. In the case of the telescope of the future, however, the situation is somewhat different. The nearest of all stars is about 270,000 times as far away as our sun. Let us suppose it to have a planet as large as Jupiter. It is possible for us to conceive a telescope big enough to show such a planet, although its construction would be beyond present engineering skill. However, when the telescope was completed its use would increase tremendously the light of the star's image, and as a result the planet which should be revealed by it would be lost in the increased glare. It would require a far larger telescope under such conditions to make the planet visible. This larger telescope, in turn, would increase the glare of the stellar image and a vicious circle would be started. If we are ever to observe planets that may move around other stars, it must be by one or another of two means: either man of the future will travel out into interstellar space and visit the neighborhoods of the stars, or some entirely different means of observation than the telescope will be invented. It is impossible for us to deny either of these eventualities, although we can point out their impracticability under present conceptions of future development.

Light traveling 186,000 miles per second requires $4\frac{1}{3}$ years to come to us from the nearest star. Let us suppose that some space ship of the future may attain a speed $1/10$ that of light. It would require more than forty years for it to make the journey to our nearest neighbor.

The great majority of naked-eye stars are many times as far away as this nearest one. The average star of our own system is thousands of times as far away. One cannot speak as positively regarding space ships as he can of the possibility of telescopes that would reveal alien planets; nevertheless, ships that could visit the stars seem very improbable. It would be necessary for generations of men to live their whole lives upon the vessels making the journey.

With respect to the invention of some other instrument than the telescope to reveal such a planet, we can say merely that at present we cannot conceive of the form of the device. We do not believe that such an invention ever will be made, but we cannot speak categorically against it. Since the observation of planets other than those of our own solar system is either an impossibility or something which belongs to the distant future, we can merely examine the stars themselves and from them speculate concerning our question.

Our sun is a small star in a system of perhaps 100,000 million stars. This system is flattened and is rotating rather irregularly about its center. It is possible that the stars are distributed in spiral form, for we find many other systems of stars which have such a characteristic. As we examine the light from these stars, we find that they differ a great deal from each other. There are many stars which give thousands of times as much light as our sun. Also there are dwarfs which give thousands of times less light than our sun gives. On the other hand, we find a great many stars which are very much like it. It is quite reasonable to guess that planets may move around those stars which resemble our sun much as the planets do in our own solar system. Unfortunately we do not know for certain the method of the formation of our planets. It may be, as many believe, that they have formed directly from the sun through the normal working of the laws of physics. If this be true, we can be quite certain that stars similar to our sun will, in general, have planetary systems. On the other hand, there are astronomers who believe our system to be a sort of freak, one which has been caused in the distant past by the very close approach of another star to our own sun. Their guess is that the mutual attractions of the stars carried disruptive tides and tore out the material which became the planets. Such close approaches of two stars would be very rare unless our galaxy of stars was at one time much more closely crowded together than it is today. If so crowded, such close approaches would be much more common than under

present conditions. There are a good many indications that there was this crowded condition and that our system of stars at one time did occupy a much smaller volume than it does now. If the hypothesis of a close approach of two stars be the true story of the origin of planets, we would expect some systems to be formed for other stars, but also we would expect them to be much less common than under the first supposition that they have been formed without outside contact. Nevertheless, among 100,000 million stars the probabilities would seem very great that the absolute number of planetary systems would be quite large even if the percentage of stars forming them should be very small. Without any certainty, we feel it probable that other worlds do exist within our own system of stars.

Our modern telescopes with their photographic attachments make it possible for us to observe many other galaxies of stars that resemble the one that we have been discussing. It has been estimated that within reach of the 100-inch telescope at Mount Wilson there are something in the neighborhood of 100 million such systems, each one with its thousands of millions of stars. Even if the formation of planets is such a rare event that only one star in a billion can have a planetary system, nevertheless there would be something like 10 billion planetary systems within this observable part of our universe. It seems rather probable that with the 200-inch telescope we will be able to observe roughly eight times as many systems as at present. One would guess that within the present observable universe we would have anywhere from 10 billion planetary systems up to a million times that.

The question of life on such hypothetical planets becomes, then, one that involves the cause of life. If life be merely a chemical process, the betting on the existence of life in the depths of the universe must be prohibitively in favor of it. If life be something entirely different from that, there would seem no practicable way to adjust even the order of the odds.

The observed probability of vegetable life on one planet of our own system, other than the earth, seems to increase very much the probability of life in distant places. If there be life on the planet Mars it follows quite definitely that the organization of our system was not something created just for the earth so that the earth uniquely would have life. The observation leaves the probability of other life far greater than if we had not found any evidence of it on Mars.

The foregoing summarizes almost all that the astronomer can say about the subject when he speaks purely as an astronomer. Any further

speculation is not astronomy, but has to do with man's guesses concerning the origin of the universe. It may be interesting to consider the two principal forms of guess that have been made through all the generations since man first speculated concerning anything else than his daily food, his living quarters, and the material effects of the people and lower animals around him.

Science may be thought of as divided into three parts which are equally essential: (1) The gathering of data as accurately as possible on all sorts of subjects. Data are observed facts which are quantitative in form so that we have a means of measuring them. They cannot be merely such vague generalities as that the sun rises in the east. For data to be scientific they must be made as accurately as it is practicable to do under the conditions that are open to the investigator. Any subject upon which it is possible to gather such data is properly a field for scientific investigation. (2) After the data have been gathered they must be submitted to careful examination by the rules of logic in order that they may be related to each other and that their implications may be studied thoroughly. To a large extent this examination of data lies within the field of statistical analysis. (3) After the data have been gathered and after they have been analyzed by statistical methods it is necessary that the imagination be applied to the results in order that we may interpret and that we may make guesses concerning the reasons for the observed facts. Scientists call such guesses *hypotheses*. A hypothesis is not necessarily expected to be true. The investigator merely says, "If such and such were true, I would get the results that I have." He then goes further and says: "This hypothesis demands these other results and, therefore, I shall gather some more data and analyze them logically to see whether the prediction be fulfilled." If the predicted results be not verified by the further data, the hypothesis is either abandoned or modified and the scientist continues to make new guesses until at last he finds an explanation which predicts the results correctly, no matter what sort of pertinent data he may gather. When he has made such a hypothesis he has, therefore, evidence that he has approached toward the truth. He has not found the truth itself; indeed, he knows no way by which he could do more than make out what we may call figuratively a map of the universe. By continuing this process through the generations, he has been improving this map until now it has given us many comforts such as all the electrical appliances and the machines that do our work for us. The map has made

it possible for us to increase our average length of life by about a quarter of a century within the very recent past. It has made it possible for us to do all sorts of things that even a century ago would have seemed so strange that one who would have predicted them would have been called insane, and yet the map cannot be the object itself. It is somewhat as if we sent out explorers to examine North America. At first they would give us very crude and incorrect maps like those which were published during the fifteenth century. Gradually, as they continued their work, the maps would become better until finally they would be so accurate and in such detail that a man who had never traveled on the continent before could go any place and know what to expect at each turn of his road.

The field of science is very much misunderstood by the layman and by some scientists themselves. Science is endeavoring by every possible means to perfect its map of the universe in every field on which it can gather observations to put on the map. It cannot attempt to get behind the map.

The speculative thinkers, commonly called philosophers, are unhampered by the necessary data which hold the scientist in check. However, the same person legitimately may be both scientist and speculative philosopher. Insofar as he is both of these, he faces the difficulty of keeping two processes separated. The difficulty is enhanced by the fact that the processes appear on the surface to be very much the same. The speculative philosopher assumes data, making such assumptions more or less in detail as may suit his purpose. Having made these assumptions, he carries on with them very much as the scientist does with his observed facts. He relates his assumptions together by the rules of logic, and from them makes hypotheses concerning interpretations. If he has guessed shrewdly in forming his original postulates, this daring action of the human mind may foreshadow future results of scientific work. For example, at the beginning of the last century people talked about atoms, but the subject was one which appertained purely to speculative philosophy. Today research on atoms themselves, and on their inner structure, is at the very heart of scientific advance. Speculative philosophy has a legitimate place so long as it is applied to those fields on which we cannot obtain the necessary data and so long as we label it as speculative. Science must ever encroach upon the field of the philosopher as it devises new means of making observations. However, there is one field on which science by its very nature can never intrude. The philosopher is permitted to speculate on

the absolute nature of things, and it seems improbable today that the scientist will ever be able to do more than to improve his map.

These speculative philosophers of all ages have been divided for the most part into two groups in their guesses concerning the origin of things: first, those who believe that originally matter existed and that this matter gradually evolved to give us a universe of our present form. This group believes that some of this matter organized itself purely by chemical and physical means in such a way as to become aware of its existence as in the case of the lower animals and ourselves. The other group of philosophers believes that originally there was a thinker and that in one manner or another through his thoughts our universe has been constructed. This latter group is divided into many subgroups, some maintaining a reality to an external universe which thus has been created, and others thinking that it all is an illusion of the mind. There appears to be no way to settle which group may be the nearer right. Our difficulties start with some sort of an innate quality of the human mind that causes most people when they try to speculate of beginnings to utter the statement, "I do not see how anything can be at all," and following such a feeling to experience: "But I am, even though I cannot understand how it is possible for me to be. Therefore, something exists." This contradiction has been experienced by nearly every one of us at times throughout his life, and this same contradiction has been felt by the greatest philosophers of the ages.

The guess that the universe formed itself purely by chemical and physical processes is called *materialism*. The guess that it came from thoughts or ideas is called *idealism*. A very few philosophers have believed in a sort of *dualism*, but their number is small. Most of the philosophers of all generations and beliefs have accepted some form of idealism. Most of the so-called practical, hard-headed men have believed in materialism. In general, we all act in most of our everyday contacts as if materialism were true, although the great majority of us give at least lip service to idealism. If materialism be true, there would seem to be no doubt at all of the existence of life in countless places. If some form of idealism be true, that probability would depend on what that form may be and on the desires of the original thinker.

It may be well to consider for a moment why there has been such a strong preponderance of thinkers who have favored idealism. Instinctively, as stated above, we tend to a feeling that it would be impossible for anything

to exist of itself without something having formed it. Such an original existence, however, forces us, despite our dislike, to accept the fact that something exists. The philosophers have experienced this just the same as the rest of us do every day. Pondering it, the philosophers have realized that the thing which they experience is a thinker. Therefore, generally it has seemed more reasonable to them to accept as the original existence something which resembles their only experience, i. e., a thinker. The materialist has his hypothesis complicated by the necessity of assuming that out of matter there eventually evolved the awareness that is himself. Except for this one great advantage of idealism, idealism and materialism are both equally satisfactory and also unsatisfactory.

Summarizing the points that have been discussed, we find almost countless stars so similar to the sun that from a materialistic point of view there must surely be inhabited planets. From the idealistic point of view there may or may not be such life, though the observed probability of life on Mars increases very much the probability of life other places.

Having carried our speculation this far, we naturally are impelled to go still further. We do not know how long man has existed on the earth. It is possible that it has been but a very few thousand years, though none of our scientists would accept such a short interval. It seems much more probable that we have existed for something between 50,000 and 500,000 years as man and that our ancestors have existed for many hundreds of millions of years before that. When we consider the stars it seems very probable that such stars as our sun have existed for billions of years and will continue to give out heat for billions more. As good a guess as we can make at present is that our sun quite probably will make this earth a comfortable place for our descendants to inhabit for at least 2,000 million years to come. Assuming such a future lifetime for our descendants, it becomes rather interesting to compare the lifetime of the human race to that of a man who will live to be 100 years old. If we consider that the first being who truly could be called a man lived 500,000 years ago, this man who represents our race is today nine days old. We of the twentieth century are the very dawn men and women. We cannot expect the human race to be civilized nor intelligent today any more than we could expect a nine-day-old baby to write the thesis of a doctor of philosophy. We would guess that as the millions of years pass our race will change as much as that baby will change when he grows to maturity. In all this we find a message

of hope. Most of us can endure discomfort for ourselves if we can believe that our children will receive those things which we desire for them. The discomfort which the past and present generations have brought upon us today and which may well persist for a dozen generations or more is, in the analogy, merely a pain experienced during a few seconds. Even after a million years our race will be at the very dawn of its existence.

If, on other worlds—perhaps in other systems of stars—there are planets and life, it would seem quite probable that in many cases hundreds of millions of years would have passed since a race began and that old races would exist which might well have attained the calm philosophical viewpoint that aged men so often find. Other races would exist in the full vigor of their civilization. Others, like us, would be dreaming of the future to be found after we have grown, and on still other planets the very beginnings of life would be spawned.

We marvel at the changes that the last century has brought to us—changes with which we have not been able to keep pace emotionally, so that we have, as H. G. Wells has said, an “age of confusion.” With our little knowledge of today many of us guess that soon we will have found everything there is to learn, not realizing that we are merely children playing on the sand and calling to each other to look at the pretty pebbles which are our discoveries.

In a book published a half century ago, Langley ended his discussion with a parable that applies just as well today as then:

“I have read somewhere a story about a race of ephemeral insects who live but an hour. To those who are born in the early morning the sunrise is the time of youth. They die of old age while its beams are yet gathering force, and only their descendants live on to midday; while it is another race which sees the sun decline, from that which saw it rise. Imagine the sun about to set, and the whole nation of mites gathered under the shadow of some mushroom (to them ancient as the sun itself) to hear what their wisest philosopher has to say of the gloomy prospect. If I remember aright, he first told them that, incredible as it might seem, there was not only a time in the world’s youth when the mushroom itself was young, but that the sun in those early ages was in the eastern, not in the western, sky. Since then, he explained, the eyes of scientific ephemera had followed it, and established by induction from vast experience the great ‘Law of Nature,’ that it moved only westward; and he showed that since it was now nearing the western horizon, science herself pointed to the conclusion that it was about to disappear forever, together with the great race of ephemera for whom it was created.

“What his hearers thought of this discourse I do not remember, but I have heard that the sun rose again the next morning.”

The Christian in Peace and War

LYNN HAROLD HOUGH

THIS is to be a frankly theological article. And it is to be written from the point of view of classical Christianity. To a man whose thought moves in the central stream of the Christian religion, every question is ultimately a theological question. Such a man is not contented until he has discovered the theological principles involved in any subject in whose discussion he is interested. This approach has certain advantages for a man who does not wish to be an intellectual weather-cock, changing his direction with every wind that blows. If your conclusions are soundly based upon the permanent sanctions which lie at the heart of classical Christianity, they will be applicable to every situation, and they will not need to be changed in any situation.

The earnest man who wishes to secure a solidly buttressed position regarding peace and war will need to inspect very closely the Christian doctrine of man, the Christian doctrine of sin, the Christian doctrine of forgiveness, the Christian doctrine of judgment, and the Christian doctrine of the nature of God. Not an analysis of particular New Testament passages (and especially not an analysis of passages carefully selected while other passages are carefully ignored) will lead to a secure result. An inspection of the very nature of the Christian religion is involved, and in as far—and it is very far—as this is related to the Bible, it must include a completely organized biblical theology rather than the microscopic study of isolated passages. But in truth it is in the light of an inspection of the whole corpus of Christian belief as set forth in an adequate theology that conclusions may be reached which will stand securely against any intellectual assault.

I

The Christian doctrine of man sees a free intelligent agent constantly confronting the necessity for decision and responsible for the decisions which he makes. And Christianity gives a certain almost awful dignity to man. He can choose a position and hold to it with all the vigor of the most intense personal energy. At this point he has a mastery which has something definitely regal about it. In this sense he is indeed the captain of his soul. He is not overwhelmed by forces outside himself. He is

not an automaton. He is a man. It is this capacity to make choices with terrible finality which is both the best thing about man and a thing which may be used for evil as well as for good. When his whole personality is turned against the ways of good will he cannot be allowed to have his way. Both in time and in eternity force must be used to restrain recalcitrant evil. And in time this force must be directed by men who with all their hearts choose the good. Man is free. But he cannot be allowed to use his freedom to corrupt the world. And anyone who assumes that by some sort of inevitable process all men can be brought to use their freedom to choose the good simply misunderstands the nature of human personality. Only on the basis of a theological doctrine of universalism can the pacifist be justified. And universalism is fatalism turned upside down. It is a doctrine of election which forces everyone into the fold. It dooms all men to goodness, and so dethrones free personality. The Christian doctrine of man gives to men a terrible freedom whose misuse leads to desperate tragedy. And in this tragedy the good forces of the world must at critical times turn against the evil forces with all the power at their command. When the free man is a free *bad* man, you cannot subdue him by kindly ways. He will regard your kindness as weakness. And he will trample you underfoot.

II

This leads right on to the Christian doctrine of sin. And here we see the issue with pacifistic thought even more sharply. This whole issue may be seen most clearly in connection with the Socratic identification of virtue and knowledge. Socrates believed that the evil man is an ignorant man. He could not conceive of a man as one understanding that a thing was evil and yet doing it. The intellectual successors of Socrates have identified sin with ignorance. Then they have reasoned that what the sinner needs is knowledge. Peter poorly informed must be changed to Peter well informed. What Peter needs is not force, but information; not the flash of the sword, but the light of knowledge. But now that we have mentioned Peter, we may as well use him as an illustration. When he denied his best Friend, was he so ignorant of the claims of friendship upon a man that in pure innocent ignorance he did this thing not realizing its dastardly quality at all? No, when fright made him a coward, it was not a question of ignorance. When Judas sold his

Master for jingling pieces of silver, was he an ignorant man who did not at all know what he was about? Not at all. There was no ignorance. There was evil intention. There was evil choice. And for this Judas was definitely responsible. The whole Christian doctrine of sin involves a repudiation of the Socratic identification of knowledge and virtue. It repudiates the identification of sin and ignorance. Christianity recognizes an evil which comes from ignorance. And it recognizes that this evil can be changed to good when ignorance is changed to knowledge. But that is not what Christianity means by the deep tragedy of sin. Sin is moral perversity. Sin is choosing what is evil when you know that it is evil and yet are determined to have it, whatever the consequences. That shrewd man, John Wesley, who had no end of sound theology in his system, put it well when he said, "Sin is voluntary violation of known law." Sin is deliberate. It is stubborn. It is a lie held against the truth. It is selfishness clearly seen to be evil and persisted in with relentless purpose. It is dishonor deliberately held against honor. It is the lower chosen against the higher. It is defiance of goodness and of God. It is lawlessness unhesitatingly chosen and persisted in with ineluctable purpose. It is the hardening of the mind and heart and will against all that is lovely and of good report. Sin is the repudiation of the reign of God.

It is the very nature of sin to harden into a cold and permanent rigidity, and when it has ceased to be a temporary moral aberration and has become a permanent purpose, its true nature is seen at last. And in this final phase it can be met only by the most unhesitating use of force.

It is of the very nature of pacifism to emasculate the Christian doctrine of sin. The pacifist does not dare to face the fact that sin is as bad as it is, because if he did, he could not accept the pacifistic solution. There is a certain moral evasiveness implicit in the very doctrine that there is no evil so desperate that it must be met by the unsheathed sword. One has taken the first step which leads in the direction of a soft sentimentality the moment he seriously sets out on the journey of the mind in which he depreciates the nature of sin in order to make it possible to believe in the moral invincibility of the friendly smile. The tendency to whiten the history of evil nations in order to make these nations come within the reach of the proper ministry of a loving spirit involves an increasing intellectual dishonesty. And an even uglier aspect of the situation is seen when the man of peace blackens the record of the man who fights for his country

in order to make him seem a very evil person. This sinister feature of the false love of peace is seen most unmistakably when the whole record of a nation is blackened by one misinterpretation after another at the very moment when, with its back to the wall, it is fighting for the liberties of the world.

III

But surely at this point we must confront the Christian doctrine of forgiveness. So far we may seem to have been concerned mainly with the fact that Saint George, unless he is intellectually confused and morally bewildered, will not attempt any sort of appeasement of the dragon. But if the Christian doctrine of man and the Christian doctrine of sin clearly involve this position, there is also the Christian doctrine of forgiveness. The first thing about this doctrine which is pertinent to our purpose is that forgiveness is offered to the penitent. It is not offered to the impenitent. A process of moral revulsion has already been going on in the man who can appropriate the Christian offer of forgiveness. Without this process and a thoroughgoing change of mind, of attitude and of purpose, there is no forgiveness. The Christian view of forgiveness must never be set forth in a fashion which would weaken men's hold on moral sanctions. The whole sentimental view of the outreach of divine love tends to blur this very important distinction.

The second thing about the doctrine of forgiveness which concerns us is that it involves a long and compassionate attempt on the part of God to produce the penitence without which forgiveness is impossible. And here we come upon the truth of pacifism, for it must never be forgotten that pacifism is the distortion of a truth. And this truth is the very important insight that only an uncoerced allegiance will bring a man within the portals of the Christian religion. Christianity is the brotherhood of free men who have gladly chosen to accept the Christian redemption. They have made an eager response to the appeal of Christ, quite untouched by any sort of force whatever. A coerced Christian would be an anomaly. A man forced to accept the Christian gospel would be a contradiction in terms. Christianity as an evangel is always the great invitation. It is only when men refuse the invitation that Christianity becomes the great divide.

This appeal for willing allegiance must depend entirely, then, upon the persuasive approach to men's minds and hearts. You cannot dragoon

them into the Kingdom of God. And so it is by a persuasive appeal that the Christian gospel would lead men to the penitence without which forgiveness is impossible. The self-giving of love breaks against the corrosive hardening processes of sin, and so again and again men become capable of repentance and do indeed repent. The whole immediate adventure of the incarnation was an endeavor by gracious words and loving deeds to secure a society of willing allegiance. It is in the same spirit that Jesus encourages His followers to go the second mile, to give the cloak when the coat is asked, and to return good for evil, and love for hate. It is so that He Himself goes at length to the cross. The mighty appeal of the suffering God is the last word of God to sinful men. And in millions of cases it has been a successful word. In the presence of the cross men turn from the hard selfishness which has been in command of their lives and, accepting the offer of the divine grace, join the company of the forgiven—a great company which no man can number. This is the glowing glorious appeal of the self-giving of God. It draws with the cords of love. And it is the creative force which produces that society of willing allegiance which makes up the true Church of God.

But this is not the whole of the story. With stern sadness even in the midst of His great adventure of unselfish friendliness, Jesus foresaw that there would be men who would resist every appeal, even the appeal of the cross. And this problem of men committed to recalcitrant evil was not only in His mind, but was upon His lips. So He spoke of the man without the wedding garment who was cast out of the feast. So He spoke of the false city which had to be destroyed. And so He spoke of the great adjudication with its company on the right and its company on the left. There would be the great acceptance. There would also be the great refusal. And the men who made the great refusal would hear the stern and final word, "Depart."

Indeed, with all the gracious loveliness of the gospel, it is important to see that it made a new and terrible sin possible. That sin was the sin against love. When the love of God had been revealed upon the cross there was opened to men such a gracious spiritual opportunity as the world had not known before. But there was also made possible a new and deadly dereliction—the rejection of the love which had sent the Son of God to the cross. There is a desperate urgency in the gospel invitation. Every man who met Jesus was either a better man or a worse man after

that meeting. If he accepted what Jesus offered, glad new doors of opportunity began to open before him. If he turned with selfish distaste from the words of Jesus, the very meeting with the most glowingly good person ever seen in the world tended to harden the evil in his own life. And when the whole glory of the cross, with all the drawing power of its revelation of love, was repudiated, a man sealed his allegiance to evil. The very love he rejected became part of the moral load which weighed him down. And now he confronted the wrath of the Lamb.

The New Testament is full of this sterner aspect of the message of the gospel. And this aspect the pacifists have passed over with singular blindness. They have never faced the meaning of the fact that when love has done all it can do—when God's love has done all it can do—when it has gone to the cross, there will be those who will reject love.

The attitude which can turn from the breaking of God's own heart in love for men is one which enters into the whole life of persons finally committed to evil. These persons corrupt every relationship of which they are a part. When they become an organism of evil, they threaten the very fabric of justice and liberty and good will in the world. It is at this point that the very love which they have rejected turns to steel. It is at this point that the very penitence they have scorned bears witness against them. It is at this point that the very forgiveness upon which they have turned their backs becomes their judge. It is at this point that love unsheathes the sword. So we see that the Christian doctrine of forgiveness and of the penitence without which forgiveness is impossible turns out to be anything but a purveyor of comfort to those who take the position of utter dependence on the appeal of noble love to conquer all obstacles by spiritual persuasion. The very doctrines to which they appeal rise to confute them.

IV

And now we come to the Christian doctrine of judgment. It is based clearly upon stern and unhesitating words spoken by our Lord Himself. And in His speech the judgment against evil persons is final and completely conclusive. The logic is clear and invincible. If man is what the Christian doctrine of man declares him to be, he is capable of the great refusal as well as of the great acceptance. If sin is what the Christian doctrine of sin declares it to be, it finally reaches depths of evil whose perverseness is beyond the reach of tenderness and compassion. If

forgiveness is what the Christian doctrine of forgiveness declares it to be, it is offered to the penitent and not to those who turn in angry scorn from the very sacrifice of God Himself upon the cross. There is such a thing as recalcitrant evil. Or rather, there are such tragic creatures as recalcitrant persons. And when the whole set of personality comes to be against good and for evil, only judgment remains.

This sense of moral finality is a part of the very essence of the Christian religion. Without it the whole corpus of Christian thought is reduced to relativity. And relativity is the one thing which is intolerable in high religion. If there is moral evasiveness at the heart of religion, then it ceases to have genuine moral value. That judgment is not merely condemnation is of the utmost importance. There are those on the right as well as those on the left. There is approval and there is reward. In one of the parables of judgment, Jesus says, "Thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee a ruler over many things." Indeed, so integral is this desire to be able to approve in the very heart of God that an Old Testament writer depicts it in the memorable phrase, "A dimly burning wick will he not quench." As long as there is any spark at all, there is the attempt to blow it into flame. And this exhaustless search for the smallest element of goodness which may be made the basis of moral decision and of moral growth is characteristic of God. But goodness may be burned out. And the death of goodness in a man's life leaves even God without anything upon which to work in that man. Only materials for judgment remain, and in this case the judgment is a final condemnation.

All of this is, of course, very unwelcome to thinkers who instinctively revolt from the sterner aspects of life and religion. That it is a part of classic Christianity no honest and competent scholar can deny. That these things are found in life itself will be the conviction of the most serious and candid student. The nature of evil and the necessity for judgment lie in the very quality of that human life whose history we can follow through so many centuries.

V

Then there is the Christian doctrine of the nature of God. This can be summarized in a sentence of the most far-reaching significance. God's nature is moral love eternally alive. If the ampler word is preferred, we may say that God's nature is the perfect realization of holy love.

Whenever we think of the love without the moral elements which

are an essential part of it, we find a love which is the love neither of the Old Testament nor the New. The love of which we think becomes soft and sentimental and gregarious and without true discrimination. Whenever we think of the righteousness of God apart from His love, it tends to become a distant austerity implacable and terrible. We must have the whole corpus of divine attributes together in the fullness of one rich and perfect life if we are to think about God without being betrayed by our thought. The pacifist thinks of God's love in such a fashion as to isolate it from the sterner characteristics of God. And so he takes a position which cannot come from a true regard for the ultimate and determining fact of the universe which is the nature of God Himself. The New Testament sentence advising a group of Christians and implicitly all Christians to be imitators of God clearly excludes regions in which the finite cannot imitate the Infinite. It is the *character* of God we must imitate. That correlation of love and justice which lives forever in God is precisely the basis for imitation on the part of man. The divine order in relation to men does not rest on the basis of a belief that universal gentleness on God's part will in the long run secure the happy response of all men. There is gentleness. But there are the sterner disciplines. And there is the finality of moral judgment. This aspect of the nature and administration of God simply must be reflected in human life if that life is to be given any sort of security and wholesomeness and happiness.

By this time it will have become very clear that whenever you cut to the heart of a great Christian doctrine you find something which contradicts the position of those who make love an absolute and refuse to recognize a place for the use of force. The corpus of thought which comes from historic Christianity does not lend itself to the position of the pacifists. And it may be said with a good deal of assurance that a non-theological age is the sort of age in which pacifism is likely to thrive. Christianity is the religion of the great invitation and the great divide. It is the religion of love on the cross and judgment on the throne. It is the religion of the friendly hand and of the sword of justice. Its doctrines of man, of sin, of forgiveness, of judgment, and of the nature of God Himself make this inevitable.

VI

The Christian in the classical tradition understands the tragic nature of peace as well as the abysmal tragedy of war. He understands that peace is characterized by the seething of strange and fantastic forces

which portend ill for the race if they are not brought under control. He sees them in the individual. He sees them in every institution. And he sees that only as these forces are controlled is the world to be saved from dangerous outbreaks at last. So he finds the basis for the discipline of the family and the discipline of civil and criminal law. In these cases potential force often serves the purpose so that the actual use of physical force becomes unnecessary. The presence of the policeman often makes unnecessary the use of his club. In the larger affairs of the world the same principle appears. There are evil international forces ready to break out if they dare. If the forces whose life is based upon the observance of law are obviously stronger than they, these evil forces will refrain from the dark deeds which represent their hearts' desire. If the democratic forces of the world had maintained their military strength, the present war would never have occurred. The men who weakened their defenses hastened the day when Hitler felt that he dared strike. In potential force lies the hope of freedom from war. The twofold endeavor in days of peace, then, is: first, to increase the number of men and nations of good will as a solid basis of the good life for man; and second, to make these forces of good will stronger at the precise point of military power than any forces which can be brought against them. So great eras of freedom from war may be brought to the world. This is a solid hope, and will succeed where the Utopian hopes will fail.

When tragic and barbarous forces are unleashed upon the world, the Christian, fortified by the interpretation of life which characterizes classical Christianity, will unhesitatingly unsheathe the sword.

In the hour of victory, the Christian remembers that in the nations against which he has been fighting there has been confusion and misunderstanding on the part of those dominated by evil autocrats, and he endeavors with all his power to secure a peace which will bring the good life to the defeated as well as to the victors.

The root evil in uncritical thinking about peace and war lies in a failure to consider the nature of moral evil. Once this is understood, the Christian is humble as well as strong. He knows that he must be judged by the very standards he strives to apply. And because he is subject to moral judgment he is saved from arrogance in the waging of war and in the hour of victorious peace.

Koheleth and Omar Khayyam

J. J. MURRAY

ONE day about a hundred years ago Bernard Quaritch, best known of London booksellers, bade his boys throw a bundle of small volumes of poetry into the penny bins on the street. He had sponsored an edition of 250 copies, small enough in all conscience for the work of a not altogether unknown poet, but, as it turned out, too many indeed for the demand in this case. Quaritch had first tried to sell these five-shilling booklets at a shilling; then when they had moved too slowly had transferred them to the obscurity of the four-penny shelves; and now finally had cast them out to the ignominy of the sidewalk barrows. After almost a century had gone, one of those same little volumes brought at an American sale the princely sum of \$8,000! Probably no single enterprise more enhanced the well-deserved fame of the house of Quaritch than the publication of the first edition of this tiny book, *The Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam*.

The author, or rather translator-author, of this adventurous book was Edward Fitzgerald, friend of Tennyson and Rossetti and Swinburne, lover of his fellow men, attractive, keen of mind, but with little ambition. At his touch the pagan wisdom of the Persian poet found an immortal place in the literature of the West, enshrined in English so musical and so gracious that scarcely yet can critics believe that the credit is not more Fitzgerald's than Omar's. Edward Fitzgerald, although a poet in his own right, was more interested in exploring the work of other men and other lands. First a student of Spanish and translator of the plays of Calderon, he later turned to the Persians. When he became attracted to Omar, neglected in his own Persia, he found some 500 Quatrains, or, as they are called in Persian, *rubai-is*, many of them worthless, but at least a hundred marked by some striking turn of thought or beauty of expression. In the first edition of *The Rubaiyat* in 1859 he published seventy-five of these Quatrains. The book attracted little or no attention until Rossetti discovered it, and Swinburne and Lord Houghton took it up, after which the Fitzgeraldized Omar began steadily to win friends. A second and revised edition, enlarged by thirty-five additional Quatrains, was published in 1868;

a third in 1872; and a slightly changed fourth in 1879. Hundreds of editions have followed.

There has been long-continued discussion as to whether our English poem has a touch of Omar, completely transmuted by Fitzgerald, or whether Fitzgerald had been a faithful translator. The growing consensus of opinion in the matter is that Fitzgerald has been entirely loyal to his master, sticking rather closely to the meaning while using considerable freedom in rearranging Omar's phrases, but at the same time imparting by his genius such a quality to the whole that a poem peculiarly Persian in origin now expresses in English the very spirit of one phase of Victorian Britain.

Omar Al-Khayyami was born near Nishapur in Khorassan about the year 1050 A. D. and died in 1123. The name Khayyam, which means "Tentmaker," probably came from his father's trade, as our Khayyam seems to have worked with nothing heavier than Quatrains or mathematical formulas. His life was singularly uneventful, its only excitement consisting of long days of labor in the study and long evenings at the tavern, the number and duration of which memory or imagination may have increased beyond all sober happening. He is said to have written his verses, in part at least, as a protest both against the bigotry of the orthodox Mohammedans of his day and against the extravagances of the mystical sect of the Sufis. When his boyhood friend, Nizam-ul-Mulk, was made a Vizier by the Sultan, he offered Omar a position as Court Chamberlain, which Omar declined, to choose instead a pension that would leave him free for his scientific studies. As far as his own land goes, his eminence was greater as mathematician and astronomer than as poet. He wrote a standard treatise on algebra, and assisted in the reform of the calendar.

It is for his poetry, however, that Omar is of interest to us. He is one in the great succession of classic Persian poets: Firdusi, Omar himself, Sa'di, Hafiz, and Jami. Omar popularized the interesting and most musical poetical form, the *rubai*, which had been originated just before his birth by his fellow countryman of Khorassan, Abu Sa'id. In this type of Quatrain the first, second and fourth lines rhyme, the third sometimes but not usually rhyming with them. The popularity of Omar in England and America at the turn of the century is now almost unbelievable. Probably no poem in the English language was so widely read. Every publishing house had its edition; millions of copies were given away every Christmas;

and Omar Khayyan clubs were formed in every city. Why such popularity, among such a wide diversity of readers, from Swinburne to young stenographers, from high-school freshmen to the most cultivated critics? No doubt the haunting musical quality of his peculiar form was one great factor. The fact that the book has been published in so many small and attractive forms was another. But I think, most of all, it owed its popularity to its atmosphere of romantic adolescence. It is probably fair enough to say that while in form *The Rubaiyat* is the work of a finished craftsman, in content it is just beautiful and sophomoric verse. It expresses in perfect form the things we all feel when first we begin to think and before we have thought very much or long. As someone has remarked, *The Rubaiyat* is a *fin du siècle* work. Consequently, it was the quintessence of the literary and intellectual decadence of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; and for that very reason is much less popular today when we live in a world which, though much darker, is also much larger, much more strenuous, and much more real.

But let Omar speak for himself. What has he to say to the world? What is his philosophy of life? (1) One of his dominant and recurring themes, the thread, we may say, upon which his Quatrains are strung, is that of the *Brevity of Life*.

A Moment's Halt—a momentary taste
Of Being from the Well amid the Waste—
And Lo!—the phantom Caravan has reach'd
The Nothing it set out from—Oh, make haste!

Life passes; and with it pass and fail all the things which life holds.

The Worldly Hope men set their Hearts upon
Turns Ashes—or it prospers; and anon,
Like Snow upon the Desert's dusty Face,
Lighting a little hour or two—is gone.

And whatever be the vigor or the interest of life, death waits around the corner to cut its cord and be the final endless end of all. With that thought of death Omar toys as with a macabre and precious jest.

(2) The practical result of this feeling of the brevity and hopelessness of human life is the admonition to *Enjoy Life* while it lasts. After all, he would say, the day's joys are enough; provided they be very simple and very obvious. At the highest Omar's attitude toward life is expressed in that most familiar of all his Quatrains:

A Book of Verses underneath the Bough,
 A Jug of Wine, a Loaf of Bread—and Thou
 Beside me singing in the Wilderness—
 Oh, Wilderness were Paradise enow.

(3) When it comes to *Cosmic Matters*, Omar knows little and is disposed to think that there is little indeed to know. Whatever gods may be are hidden from and indifferent to man. There may be a Creative Something, but if so, it is both blind and helpless.

And that inverted Bowl they call the Sky,
 Whereunder crawling coop'd we live and die,
 Lift not your hands to *It* for help—for *It*
 As impotently moves as you or I.

Since Omar is not concerned to be too consistent with himself, at times he pictures the *Deus ex machina* as something more than blind force; but this is a thought which brings no comfort, for if not helpless the deity is carelessly cruel.

But helpless Pieces of the Game He plays
 Upon this Chequer-board of Nights and Days;
 Hither and thither moves, and checks, and slays,
 And one by one back in the Closet lays.

Human beings are utterly unimportant in the scheme of things. In shallow compassion he would even take from man that final dignity of his own freedom and consequent responsibility.

Oh Thou, who didst with pitfal and with gin
 Beset the Road I was to wander in,
 Thou wilt not with Predestined Evil round
 Enmesh, and then impute my Fall to Sin!

(4) Omar's own attitude, then, must be expressed in the phrase, *Carpe Diem*. We find at times in his verse a hint of purposeful desire, but at most his purpose remains a sentiment; at times a touch of pity, but with no concern to help; at times a little courage, a little rebellion against the "sorry scheme of things"; but in the main, almost in its entirety, his advice is but to enjoy the day as best one can and forget the final meaning it may or may not have.

The question has long been argued as to what Omar really meant in his verses. Was he mild sensualist, or spiritual philosopher? Was he trying to say as nearly as possible what he really meant; or was he, through the outward aspect of sweet wine and gentle earthly pleasures, trying to

tell men of the joys of faith and the thrill of being lost in communion with the Divine? That is not quite so absurd as it sounds at first, for to speak of the Divine through the imagery of the delights of wine would not be a new thing in the language of mysticism. But if these selections from the Quatrains of Omar are at all representative of his thought, it is impossible to find much room, if any, for mysticism in his verse. The judgment increasingly reached by those most competent to say is that Omar concerned himself little with the vague divine, and that when he wrote of wine he simply meant "the old familiar juice."

Our interest in this study, however, is not only with Omar, but also with a more ancient poet and philosopher, Koheleth, whom early English translators called "The Preacher," the writer of the Book of *Ecclesiastes* in our Old Testament. This book presents striking similarities with and more striking contrasts to *The Rubaiyat*. Both writers lived in a world of mental questioning and confusion; both reacted against the current orthodoxies of their day; both were determined up to the measure of their abilities to see life as it was and not as they were told to see it; and neither of them could find a philosophy in which his mind could come to peace. But these men lived in different lands; their minds were molded in different atmospheres; and hence, although their philosophical bents were similar, the practical attitudes of the two men were far apart. Omar and Koheleth alike were skeptics, disillusioned and without much faith. But Omar was a Persian, and Koheleth a Hebrew. There is the key to the contrast. The men were more alike than their environments. They were alike, as rebels are always alike, whatever the environment against which they rebel. But that Omar was a Persian and Koheleth was a Hebrew—this is the key to the contrast between the men. Omar could rebel against the orthodoxy of his environment; Omar could see his faith steadily slipping from his hands until he turned it loose; and Omar, at war with his environment and without a faith with which to make himself a cover for his head, could still visit the tavern and find forgetfulness. Koheleth, too, must rebel against the smug conventionality of his day; but Koheleth without his faith could never be at peace; and Koheleth because he could not live without a faith could not surrender all the faith that once he had. And, further, because he could not and would not surrender his troubled faith, he sees far deeper even in his confusion than does Omar. Perhaps the most haunting line in *The Rubaiyat* is the closing line of Quatrain XIII:

Some for the Glories of This World; and some
 Sigh for the Prophet's Paradise to come;
 Ah, take the Cash, and let the Credit go,
Nor heed the rumble of a distant Drum!

It is not at all clear that even Omar could quite forget that "distant Drum"; but there is no doubt that this disturbing and inescapable sense of an eternal meaning to life is the key to Koheleth. What means, indeed, this whole, tormenting queer paradox of man's existence but the pressure on him to "heed the rumble of a distant Drum"? At any rate, while Koheleth can recite with Omar the first three lines of that Quatrain, his voice drops when he essays the fourth. However hard of hearing, however slow to interpret these dim and distant sounds, he could never shut his ears to them. And so, while he shares Omar's disillusionment, there is in his book a yearning that Omar does not feel; and while he shares in some measure Omar's skepticism, there is present a hunger and a hope that Omar does not know. Just because he is a Hebrew, because he is of a people who in their high days had known intimacy with the great God about whom even now in the days of their spiritual decay they still repeat words more noble than they know, Koheleth cannot be happy where he does not believe. His muse, because it is a Hebrew muse and can only mount to high heaven on the wings of faith, must in his day of doubt walk with leaden feet. As he talks of life his cadences are always more mournful than Omar's; and when he thinks of death he cannot write in easy rhythm, but must perforce become elegiac. Koheleth is a Hebrew in a world where the stimulating and at the same time corroding influences of Greek thought were spreading. The acids of that ancient modernity were at work upon his faith. Out of the inner controversies of that unhappy mind grew a strange book, the strangest in our sacred Scriptures, an uncomfortable book, a fascinating book, and a by no means unhelpful book. Renan spoke of Ecclesiastes as "the only charming book a Hebrew ever wrote," which is perhaps a better judgment on Renan's aestheticism than on the qualities of Hebrew literature; but which, nevertheless, if you will but leave out the word "only," implies a just estimate of Ecclesiastes.

The work of Koheleth is more systematic by far than that of Omar, whose thought rarely hangs together for more than two or three Quatrains at a time, but it is by no means a treatise. It is rather the travel diary of a philosopher's mind, the musings of a thoughtful and discouraged soul, jotted down with some order but with no great effort after unity or con-

sistency. In fact, it would appear that the initial error which vitiates much of the critical discussion of this book is the demand that Koheleth be treated as a textbook which must agree with itself on every page or even in succeeding verses. Life is too rich and too confusing, the writer's mind too uncertain and troubled for the critic to expect calm logic on all these tense pages.

The closest biblical affinities of Koheleth are in form with Proverbs, in spirit with Job. Like the editor of Proverbs, Koheleth was a writer and collector of crisp gnomic statements, many of which have been absorbed into the world's store of wise words. We are reminded of Conrad in *Lord Jim* when we hear Koheleth say:

"For in much wisdom is much grief: and he that increaseth knowledge increaseth sorrow."

We might think his word was written for the world today when we read:

"He that diggeth a pit shall fall into it; and whoso breaketh an hedge, a serpent shall bite him."

As in the Book of Proverbs, we find much wisdom that is of soil:

"For as the crackling of thorns under a pot, so is the laughter of the fool."

"For a living dog is better than a dead lion."

"He that observeth the wind shall not sow; and he that regardeth the clouds shall not reap."

Earlier in this study, Koheleth has been called poet as well as philosopher; and so he is, although much of his poetry is of the gnomic and somewhat pedestrian type just quoted. Strangely enough, the Revised Version does not recognize the poetry in Ecclesiastes, even in the unmistakable and unforgettable rhythm of the closing chapter. While Koheleth rises far above Omar as a thinker, he does not maintain Omar's level as poet, though even here on occasion he greatly transcends him. The first chapter has a haunting beauty, the third a simple dignity, while the description of old age in the twelfth chapter must take its place in the small sheaf of the world's supremely great verse:

Remember now thy Creator in the days of thy youth,
While the evil days come not,
Nor the years draw nigh, when thou shalt say,
I have no pleasure in them;

.

Or ever the silver cord be loosed,
Or the golden bowl be broken,
Or the pitcher be broken at the fountain,
Or the wheel broken at the cistern.
Then shall the dust return to the earth as it was:
And the spirit shall return unto God who gave it.

The basic question about this, as about any man's book, is the question of its message; how much of truth and wisdom, how much of faith or of unfaith, is to be found in Koheleth's philosophy of life? (1) It is in his *View of Life* that Koheleth most resembles Omar. But even here there are sharp differences. Both men are pessimistic in their view of life; but Omar is concerned about the transitoriness of life, while Koheleth is concerned with its unsatisfactoriness. Omar is disturbed because life is not long enough, Koheleth because it is not big enough. Koheleth set himself to survey human life. "I gave my heart to seek and search out by wisdom concerning all things that are done under heaven; this sore travail hath God given to the sons of man to be exercised therewith. I have seen all the works that are done under the sun; and, behold, all is vanity and vexation of spirit." As a result he is driven at times to cynicism. "I returned, and saw under the sun that the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong, neither yet bread to the wise, nor yet riches to men of understanding, nor yet favor to men of skill; but time and chance happeneth to them all." *The Professor at the Breakfast Table* once said: "Why can't somebody give me a list of things that everybody thinks and nobody says, and another list of things everybody says and nobody thinks." Koheleth had the audacity to do this, sometimes indeed to overdo it. Koheleth is usually pessimistic. His thesis, oft-repeated, is: "Vanity of vanities; all is vanity. What profit hath a man of all his labor which he taketh under the sun?" Man is constantly baffled. God "hath made everything beautiful in His time: also He hath set eternity in their heart, yet so that no man can find out the work that God maketh from the beginning to the end." Both Omar and Koheleth face an insuperable difficulty in their view of death. For each, death was the end. "For that which befalleth the sons of men befalleth beasts; even one thing befalleth them: as the one dieth, so dieth the other; . . . so that man hath no pre-eminence above a beast; for all is vanity." It is impossible to measure human life as both mortal and meaningful: it can be one or the other, but not both. Without some high, divine touch, life can only be weighed

as animal, and, therefore, inconsequential. Koheleth escaped some of the consequences of this thought only because the strain of faith in his Hebrew inheritance would not let him go.

(2) In Koheleth's *View of Cosmic Matters* there is a more positive strain. His God is not the vague deity of *The Rubaiyat*, blind, helpless, carelessly cruel. He is indeed the faraway God, with whom man's touch is dim and distant. The name of Jehovah, the covenant God of Israel, is not used in the book; Elohim, the Universal One, is his title for God. To the writer of this paper the one insoluble problem of Ecclesiastes is the fact that Koheleth can be so little touched with the vividness of the prophetic conception of Jehovah or with the warmth of the Psalmist's devotion. But this is far from saying that his God is indifferent; and it is amazing that scholars like Toy and Smith, writing in *The Encyclopedia Brittanica*, can so imply. God is not careless of men whom He has made. "And also that every man should eat and drink, and enjoy the good of all his labor, it is the gift of God." God is concerned with right and wrong. "If thou seest the oppression of the poor, and violent perverting of judgment and justice in a province, marvel not at the matter: for He that is higher than the highest regardeth; and there be higher than they." God will judge all things. "Rejoice, O young man, in thy youth; . . . but know thou, that for all these things God will bring thee into judgment." And for all this man may well be humble. "Be not rash with thy mouth, and let not thine heart be hasty to utter anything before God: for God is in heaven, and thou upon earth: therefore let thy words be few."

(3) It is not easy to say what Koheleth's practical *Attitude Toward Life* really is. Certainly, as is often the case with the high-minded pessimist, it is loftier than his philosophy would logically warrant. He does say, "Go thy way, eat thy bread with joy, and drink thy wine with a merry heart;" yet we cannot but feel that his tongue stammers as he says it, for Koheleth at heart is more Stoic than Epicurean. It is probably not wrong to say that his recipe for life, like Omar's, but on a higher plane and with more strenuous spirit, is that of a golden mean, a simple life: an interest in the beauties and pleasures of the world, but an interest that is not too absorbing; a work that will occupy him, but from which he will not expect too much; and tempering it all, a sober mind uplifted without much eagerness but in all humility unto God. The penultimate verse of this book, whether or not written by Koheleth, is not far from summing up his atti-

tude: "Let us hear the conclusion of the whole matter: Fear God, and keep His commandments: for this is the whole of man."

In conclusion, possibly the sharpest question to be raised about the Book of Ecclesiastes is this: What place is there in the Bible for such a book, a book that at its best has little positive message and that at its lowest has much in its view of life and death alike that is sub-Christian? I once had a class of men and women engaged in studying the development of the Old Testament. After we had studied Ecclesiastes the question was raised whether this book should be in the Bible. One thoughtful and impulsive man gave his answer at once. "Yes," he said, "I think there ought to be more books like that in the Bible." More books, he meant to say, which express struggle as well as victory, which describe the search as well as exhibit the treasure, which point out the road as well as set the goal, which go with Pilgrim through the Slough of Despond and across the weary wastes of futility as well as bring him at last to the Delectable Mountains and into the Heavenly City. Koheleth's message is imperfect and incomplete, yet had it been omitted, the Bible would have been the poorer. Its recognition of the ineluctable pathos in human life, its combination of reality, of sincerity, and of rare beauty, its yearning for higher things than it can attain, and the way in which its unsatisfied longings prepare its reader for the New Testament light—all these features unite to give this strange book a sure place in Holy Writ.

The Old Testament After a Half Century

JAMES A. KELSO

ACROSS approximately half a century two occurrences stand as landmarks in the history of Old Testament study, one an epoch-making discovery in the field of Oriental archaeology, the other an event in American ecclesiastical history. The former was the recovery of a collection of diplomatic correspondence on clay tablets, written in Babylonian cuneiform from the ruins of an ancient capital of Egypt at Tell-el-Amarna. The date of this find was 1887; about it more will be said later on. The event on the American scene was the trial of Dr. Charles A. Briggs by the Presbyterian General Assembly (1891-93). The charges against him were based upon statements made in an inaugural address entitled "The Authority of Holy Scripture," delivered January 20, 1891. In this address Doctor Briggs made assertions in regard to the authorship of the Pentateuch and Isaiah which are commonplace now but appeared revolutionary to the majority of ministers and laymen of that day. The trial, resulting in the conviction of the distinguished scholar, served as a sounding board for the nation and spread the new views far and wide, for the account of the trial made front page news. To this publicity the writer, with many of his contemporaries, owes his first serious interest in Old Testament study which later became his chief professional interest.

In the same decade there was another influence in American religious circles creating an unusual interest in the study of the Hebrew Scriptures. It was the leadership of William Rainey Harper, then professor of Hebrew at Yale, soon to become the founder of the University of Chicago. An enthusiastic teacher of rare pedagogical ability, an Hebraist with an international reputation, Doctor Harper made his influence felt nation-wide through the organization of the American Institute of Sacred Literature which conducted correspondence courses in Hebrew. Under the spell of Harper's enthusiasm hundreds of ministers studied the original language of the Old Testament with such zeal that one might think their salvation depended on acquiring it. In his historical and critical views, Doctor Harper stood on the same platform as Doctor Briggs. Thus the historico-

critical view of the origin of Old Testament literature and the development of the religion of the ancient Hebrew religion was introduced to the American public and was widely disseminated. In the course of the ensuing years it has become dominant in both theological and popular circles in America.

In the interval of fifty years Old Testament science has not remained static. Both traditional and modern views have been clarified and radically modified by objective tests furnished by archaeology. Since the close of the World War archaeology has been a very live and aggressive science, and has made discoveries of prime importance for the interpretation of the Old Testament, of which the Amarna letters were only forerunners. Frequently the tangible evidence furnished by the spade of the excavator has made the Old Testament scholar realize his ignorance of the culture and thought-world of the Ancient Near East.

It is the aim of this essay to give some idea of the new knowledge which we owe to archaeology as it touches the interpretation of the Old Testament. In many respects this science has been revolutionary in its effects, drastically modifying generally accepted views in anthropology, comparative religion, history and philology; and has profoundly affected our ideas of revelation and biblical theology. Our space permits us to deal with only one aspect of this influence of archaeology, namely, the widening and deepening of our knowledge of the Ancient Near East. In this sphere it has furnished us with data whereby old theories of literary criticism and history have been tested to be approved or discarded; and it has wrought what might be correctly termed a resurrection of the ancient history of the Near East—from the shores of the Mediterranean to the banks of the Indus, from the Indian Ocean to the shores of the Black and Caspian seas, from the jungles of equatorial Africa to the mountains of northern Persia. Indeed, so vast has been the increase of knowledge in the field of archaeology in the Near East and adjacent lands, since the close of the first World War to the present time, that it seems to us as if a great magician had waved his wand and evoked a fairy scene.

THE NEW KNOWLEDGE BREAKS DOWN ISOLATION

The first effect of the new knowledge has been to break down the isolation in which the Old Testament was studied. Isolation was a traditional and universal attitude toward the literature of the Old Testament.

Such was the point of view not only of theologians—Jewish, Catholics and Protestants, but also of philosophers like Locke, Kant and Hegel. The same attitude prevailed not only among orthodox technical scholars of the Old Testament, who held traditional, conventional views, but were also found in the ranks of higher critics, such as Wellhausen and his followers. The determining factor with the former was a theory of inspiration, with the latter an evolutionary view of the origin and development of religion. In apology for the positions of these various groups may be offered the fact that in their day no one knew very much about the ancient world in which the Old Testament was written and one guess was as good as another. Apart from a few stray references in Greek writers and the additions which Josephus had made to the narrative of the Old Testament, there was nothing outside of the Old Testament books themselves which gave us any information of contemporary conditions, or presented sufficient data for categorical statements.

But archaeology in the widest sense of the word has completely changed all this. For instance, it has brought to light the fact that Palestine, the national home of the Hebrew people for about 1,200 years, was the corridor not between two nations only, but between two continents. The spade of the archaeologist has laid bare monuments which prove beyond the shadow of a doubt that, before the Mosaic age, Syria and Palestine had been a dependency of the ancient Babylonian Empire and that later for several centuries they had been a province of the Egyptian Empire in the days of its glory. The inscriptions of Rameses II the Great, who reigned sixty-seven years (1292–25 B. C.), tell of fifteen or sixteen expeditions to Syria and Palestine, in which he carried his arms to the banks of the Euphrates. Earlier over its territory swept the armies of the Hyksos when they invaded Egypt. The Hittite power clashed with Egypt on its soil and the Philistines who came from Crete and later the Arameans fought the Hebrews for the possession of the land. Beginning with the ninth century B. C. came the armies of Assyria to devastate and conquer this corridor as they swept on to their goal in Egypt. After the fall of Nineveh in 612 they were followed by the forces of Nebuchadnezzar and the Neo-Babylonian empire, who in turn gave place to the Persians, the conquerors of Babylon. Later the armies of Alexander the Great fought their way through the land, and for over two centuries his successors in Egypt and Syria struggled for the possession of this strategic

territory until the Roman came. Then after the domination of Rome for over a century, the Jew was driven from his national home and his temple destroyed. Let us remind ourselves that the details of this long history, especially of the earlier periods prior to 1200 B. C., has been largely recovered in the past fifty years through archaeology. The clear teaching of the history thus rediscovered is that never did the people who produced the Old Testament live in isolation, and that it is impossible to interpret the literature which came out of their life and experience without reference to the historical environment. In a word, no Old Testament scholar can be an isolationist, fencing himself off either by a theological tenet or a philosophical theory of history from objective factual information provided by archaeology.

PROGRESSIVE REVELATION

Again, a half century ago the Old Testament was treated as a single indivisible record—all parts on the same level; and in turn the whole Old Testament was put on the same level with the New Testament, being regarded as a storehouse of texts for the theologian and the preacher. For this reason it had been frequently misunderstood and misused, being quoted in justification of such practices as the burning of witches in New England and of slavery in the Southern States. A similar misconception of the Old Testament is still prevalent in much of the popular theology of our day as held by religious groups on the fringe of the ecumenical church, but such a view has been repudiated by all competent scholarship.

As the Old Testament writings were produced over a period of nearly a thousand years, we would naturally conclude that, in all probability, they would reflect a historical development in the beliefs and practices of the Hebrew people. We would naturally expect to find much on the lower level of primitive religion in the earlier centuries of Israel's history, and at a later period we would anticipate the gradual sloughing off of inadequate views of God and the discarding of rites and practices which were not in harmony with the purer ethical conceptions of Jehovah. Such progress in religious conceptions is clearly discernible in the Old Testament when one's attention is called to it, in the case of certain doctrines, especially in the conception of God, the Future Life, and Ethics both personal and social. The Old Testament student, looking at this development from the historical point of view ascribes these changes to the

influence of the prophets of eighth and seventh centuries before Christ. Viewing the advance as a theologian, he attributes it to the influence of God's Spirit and terms the process progressive revelation.

AN OBJECTIVE VIEW OF OLD TESTAMENT HISTORY

A more objective view of Old Testament history and the development of Old Testament theology is made possible by the data furnished by archaeology. As it deals with the material remains of the ancient world, we recall to mind that it constitutes a wholesome check to unregulated theorizing. Material remains are of many types and include architecture, pottery, weapons, instruments and jewelry. The term may cover a sanctuary, a palace, a residence or a tomb. Again, the spade of the archaeologist has laid bare libraries and archives, usually in the form of clay tablets—less frequently on metals; in Egypt the papyri preserved in the dry climate of that land. In the popular religious view the main contribution of archaeology is the confirmation of the veracity of the Old Testament. To use the phrase of a recent writer: It is quite common to "regard the former as a somewhat lowly handmaid to Revelation; a hewer of wood and a drawer of water for the temple." By this he means the view that the chief function of archaeology is to produce evidence for the veracity of the Old Testament record and thereby establish the theory of verbal inspiration and the inerrancy of the Bible. While the purpose of archaeology is much wider than this, nevertheless it remains true that the verisimilitude of the Old Testament writings is frequently confirmed by archaeology even in small details. Let us take a few examples of this from the narrative of the Book of Kings: The founding of the city of Samaria is ascribed to Omri, the father of Ahab (I Kings 16: 24). This site has been excavated, and the remains prove that the site was never occupied before the Israelitish period, as no pottery of the bronze age was discovered, demonstrating that the site was not occupied by the Canaanites. A little further on in the narrative we are told that Ahab built an ivory palace (I Kings 22: 39). In the excavations of the building identified as Ahab's palace, many fragments of ivory were found and have been pieced together. To Professor Sukenik, of the Jewish University, at Jerusalem, we are indebted for a monograph on the ivories of Samaria. Ashes in the proper stratum of the mounds have proved that Nebuchadnezzar actually burnt the cities of Judah in his campaign against

Jerusalem, as asserted by the sacred historian. Such verifications are good as far as they go, but they do not throw much light on the life and thought of the people who gave us the Old Testament.

Archaeology is to be taken more seriously than this, for it recreates for us the historical background, especially of the earlier period of Old Testament history. Just a little more than fifty years ago, in 1887, the so-called Tell-el-Amarna Letters already referred to were discovered in Egypt in the ruins. Tell-el-Amarna, the capital of the two kings, Amenophis III and IV (fourteenth century), is situated about midway between Cairo and Luxor. The cache consisted of nearly four hundred tablets of official correspondence, letters addressed to these two Egyptian kings by the monarchs of Assyria, Babylonia, Hurrians, Mittani (two peoples hitherto unknown), the Hittites, and most interesting and important of all for the Old Testament student were letters from vassal chieftains in Palestine. Among others there were six from Jerusalem, from Abdi-Khiba, the King of Jerusalem, to his feudal lord, the King of Egypt. Two startling revelations were made in these letters: (1) The use of the ancient Babylonian language, in cuneiform script, in diplomatic correspondence between Asiatic monarchs and the Egyptian Court in fourteenth century B. C.; (2) The picture of vassal rulers of city states in Palestine complaining to their Egyptian overlord of inroads of a people named the Habiri who were destroying the Egyptian Empire in Asia. This one archaeological find threw more light on conditions in Palestine about the time of the Exodus than all the volumes of Hebrew history from Josephus down to our own age. These tablets gave us an illuminating view of the political conditions in Canaan prior to the coming of the Hebrews. They also furnished us with our first knowledge of the Canaanitish language in marginal notes; and, if the identification of Habiri with the Hebrews is correct, the earliest mention of that people outside of the pages of the Old Testament.

In 1925 Professor S. A. Cook, Regius professor of Hebrew at Cambridge University, drew an inference from the existence of these letters which has since been confirmed by actual discovery. This expert in the Old Testament field wrote: "Indeed, such is the general culture of the Amarna age that on *a priori* grounds Palestine might fairly be credited with a very rich literature long before the entrance of Israel."

¹ *The People and the Book*, S. A. Cook, p. 54.

His brilliant conjecture was verified by the spade of French archaeologists at Ras Shamra in a series of excavations beginning in 1929 down to 1939. Ras Shamra, mentioned in the Tell-el-Amarna Letters, as Ugarit, is the Mount Casius of classical writers, the Mountain of the North of Phoenician mythology, corresponding to the Mount Olympus of the Greeks and occasionally referred to in the Old Testament under that designation (Ezekiel 28: 14; 32: 30), situated on the coast of Syria opposite Cyprus.

In the course of the excavations on this site a royal compound was unearthed with a scribal chamber in which numerous archives in the form of clay tablets had been preserved for over three millennia. These tablets, in cuneiform script, were in various languages, some Accadian, some bilingual in Accadian-Sumerian, some in Hurrian, this latter being the language of a newly discovered people, and some in an apparently unknown tongue. The international world of scholarship went to work immediately to decipher this unknown writing. The achievement of decipherment must be credited to international scholarship French, German and American. The American scholar, Dr. W. F. Albright, for some time Director of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem, now of Johns Hopkins University, shared in the triumph.

The joint labor of these scholars brought to light two remarkable and startling facts: (1) Although in cuneiform script on clay tablets, it was an alphabetic language; and (2) the language was Hebrew. Professor James A. Montgomery, the veteran scholar of the University of Pennsylvania, terms the speech of these tablets "a Hebraic dialect." At least eleven of these texts, some of great length written on many columned tablets, present elaborate mythological poems and hymns for use in connection with ritual ceremonies. The extent of these texts may be estimated from the number of titles, two hundred in all, and their importance may be evaluated from the new light which they shed on the linguistic, religious and literary problems of the Old Testament.

Two of these mythological texts are of special significance for Old Testament scholars: one, which records the Phoenician legend of Dan'el, or Daniel, a son of the god Hadad; the second, which presents the legend of Keret, the King of Sidonians. In the second an interesting divine or semi-divine person appears with the name Terah, head of a tribe of Terahites. This chief, with his people, lived in the south of Canaan, and with them dwelt the tribes of Asher and Zebulon in the south. The Old

Testament student is on the alert at once, when he remembers that Terah is the name of Abraham's father.

The mythological texts of Ras Shamra have thrown light upon the so-called magical-fertility rites to which the Old Testament writers make veiled allusions, and against which the prophets fulminated. These fertility cults resulted in the institution of sacred prostitution (prohibited Deuteronomy 23: 17).

At this point a remark about mythology is pertinent. In the last century Renan, the brilliant French Semitic scholar, maintained that the Semites lacked imagination, and hence they had no mythology. The elaborate mythology brought to light in these texts has finally buried his dictum for all time.

The importance of these texts grows as we discover that they give us a literary background for Hebrew poetry, and furnish many literary correspondences with the Old Testament. A full list may be found in a monograph by Mr. J. W. Jack, an English scholar, in which an entire chapter is devoted to correspondences. One example may be cited from Psalm 8: 8: "the fowl of the air, and the fish of the sea, and whatsoever passeth through the paths of the sea;" in the R. S. text: "fowl of the heaven and fish in the sea, and what passes" (text breaks off).

In view of these similarities in phraseology, Professor J. A. Montgomery asserts "the time must soon arrive for a Ras Shamra Glossary to the Hebrew Bible, so much has the new material contributed to the lexicography of the latter."

Another recent archaeological discovery of very recent date is that of the potsherd letters at Lachish. Hebrew names on jar handles had been found in the excavations at Samaria by the Harvard Expedition in 1908-10, but only quite recently in 1935 (at least the first announcement was made in 1935) eighteen ostraca (fragments of pottery) were discovered at Tell-el-Duweir, Biblical Lachish in S. W. Palestine with more writing on them than names. Four of these letters in classical Hebrew, all fragmentary, are legible. One of these (No. I) presents a number of Hebrew names found in the Old Testament belonging to a period about 700 B. C. In one (No. III) a prophet (*Nabi*) is referred to; the first extra-biblical occurrence of *Nabi*, Hebrew for prophet. To quote: "And as for the letter of Nedabyahu, servant of the King, which came to Shallum b. Jaddua from the prophet saying, be on thy guard."

Professor Montgomery has given us a brief and accurate estimate of the value of this find: "Altogether, no Palestinian documents have been more illustrative and corroborative of the Judæan history than these humble ostraca."

In 1880 the first Hebrew inscription contemporary with any Old Testament passage was discovered in the subterranean channel carrying the waters of the Virgin Spring to the pool of Siloam. Today we possess several hundred inscriptions in ancient Hebrew.

We can do no better than to use the statement of Doctor Albright in summing up the contribution of archaeology to our knowledge of ancient Hebrew writing: "The long epigraphical silence of Palestinian archaeology has now been broken and we can list several hundred inscriptions of known Israelite provenience. Thanks to the Siloam inscription and the Lachish ostraca, supplemented by many legends on seals and graffiti on potsherds, we can form an excellent idea of the script and dialect of Judah in the century and a half before the Exile. The Northern Kingdom is now nearly as well off, thanks to over eighty ostraca from Samaria, dating mostly from between 850 and 750 B. C."*

The spade of the archaeologist, like a wand in the hands of a powerful magician, has not only taken us back to the gray dawn of history, but has made the ancient world, contemporary with the patriarchs and Moses, more real to us than the period of the Hebrew monarchy was half a century ago. Long forgotten peoples with their languages and their civilizations have been brought to light. To our amazement, characters and statements that were regarded as mythical and legendary have been clothed with the garments of reality. Space permits the mention of only two or three examples. First, archaeological research has settled the much-discussed question of the Hyksos, who invaded and conquered Egypt, and remained as rulers of the Nile Land for a century and a half (from 1800 B. C. onwards). The view that they were Asiatics has been confirmed, but it has been proved that the designation Hyksos is not ethnic, but was used in the general sense of "foreign invader," covering several peoples who were involved in a great racial movement. To change the figure: the Hyksos were a part of a tidal wave of humanity, rushing down on Egypt from Central Asia and forcing racial groups before it until it finally broke in the Valley of the Nile.

* Haverford Symposium, p. 317.

If the Habiri of the Tell-el-Amarna letters are correctly identified with the Hebrews, it makes it very probable that the latter were a part of this wave sweeping on toward Egypt. This word is the equivalent to Hebrew in the Old Testament language. More recently the term has been found in documents from N. Mesopotamia antedating 2000 B. C. also in Hittite inscriptions from Asia Minor. It appears in Egyptian sources in the form "*spiru*," the Egyptian spelling of the Semitic word. There has been considerable debate about the identification of these people with the Hebrews of the Old Testament, and today it is pretty generally answered in the affirmative. Like the term Hyksos, it is not an ethnic designation, but a common noun with the fundamental meaning "wanderers." The fathers of the Old Testament people were wanderers—nomads; a phrase in an Old Testament liturgy (Deuteronomy 26: 5) proves that their descendants of a much later date were fully conscious of this fact. "A wandering Aramaean was my father" (Deuteronomy 26: 5) (A. V., "ready to perish," incorrect).

Further, the archaeological finds of the past thirty years have rediscovered two forgotten people mentioned in the Old Testament—the *Hittites* and the *Hurrians*. In the writer's student days, and much later, the Hittite was an unsolved enigma for Old Testament students; in fact, their despair and the subject of the gibe of superficial rationalists who pointed to it as an instance of the purely legendary in the narrative. (In the English Bible the singular Hittite occurs twenty-five times, and the plural twenty-two.) In this instance the rationalist had more ground for his position than usual, because classical historians had overlooked the Hittite Empire, although mentioned on Egyptian inscriptions. But the Old Testament writers have been vindicated and again the cuneiform tablet furnishes the proof. In 1908 at Boghaz-Koi in Central Asia Minor, not far from Angora, the present capital of Turkey, a library of cuneiform tablets was discovered in a then unknown language, but fortunately a vocabulary in Assyrian on a tablet was a part of the treasure. As scholars already knew the phonetic value of cuneiform signs, it did not take them long to read the tablets of Boghaz-Koi. They discovered it was the long-lost Hittite tongue. The Hittites not only ceased to be a legendary people, but came into the framework of ancient history as a great power that once had contested the possession of Syria and Palestine with Egypt when the latter was at the zenith of her power.

We pass to the Hurrians (a non-Semitic race), a people absolutely unknown until the tablets at Boghaz-Koi and Ras Shamra revealed them to us, and yet a people who were a vital factor in the history of a large portion of the Ancient Near East. Here again the scribe of remote antiquity helped us by conveniently furnishing a lexicon. Hurrian tablets have also been found at Taanach, within the limits of Palestine itself. With the decipherment of Hurrian another Old Testament racial enigma has been solved. In half a dozen passages of the Old Testament a people, the Horites, are mentioned among the pre-Israelitish inhabitants of Canaan and Edom. As the Hebrew word Hori may mean "a cave dweller," it was naturally interpreted as referring to groups that lived in caves, and accordingly Horites were supposed to be troglodytes. It is now unanimously agreed that the Horites are Hurrians, for the Hebrew word with different vowels would read *Hurri* instead of Hori. The study of material from northern Mesopotamia has brought to light remarkable confirmatory parallels between Hurrian laws and customs and those of the ancient Hebrews and has also substantiated some of the incidents of the patriarchal narrative. For example: Rachel's theft of her father's teraphim; the episode of Abraham, Sarah and Hagar; the arrangement between Jacob and Esau in regard to their birthright. Professor E. A. Speiser, the excavator of Hurrian mounds, sums up the situation: "Two things are made plain by this remarkable interrelationship of Hurrian and patriarchal documents. Firstly, the narratives with which we have been concerned find a well-authenticated background in contemporary extra-biblical sources. Secondly, there were intimate cultural contacts between the Habiru and the Hurrians, prior to the Amarna period at least."¹

All these results of archaeological study prove that the ethnographical conditions in Palestine were very complex. Various elements: Amorite, Canaanite, Hittite, Egyptian, Phoenician, Hurrian, non-Semitic as well as Semitic had crossed each other. The land was a melting pot of the nations, and all the above-mentioned peoples contributed to the blood of the Hebrews. The characteristic Jewish physiognomy is Hittite, and not Semitic and confirms the composite racial origins of the people. The Old Testament narrative itself often suggests the mixed ancestry of the Hebrew race: Abraham migrated from Ur in South Babylonia; Jacob is

¹ *Ethnic Movements in the Near East in Second Millennium*, Speiser, pp. 44-45.

described as a nomad Aramaean; a mixed multitude joined themselves to them at the time of the Exodus; intermarriage with other races being quite common in early centuries.

We are now in a position to sum up the progress of the past fifty years in Old Testament study. The objective reality of both the historical narrative and the outstanding characters has been very largely tested by external standards. Material objects—walls of houses, palaces and sanctuaries, instruments and weapons of stone, bronze and iron, ruins of towns and cities are facts that cannot be evaporated into myths and legends by theories, even though propounded by the most learned of savants. Leaving the movements of peoples which we have been setting forth, and concentrating our attention on the greatest character of Old Testament history—statesman, lawgiver, prophet, next to Jesus the most influential man in the religious history of mankind—Moses. To modern research no longer a legendary or mythical character, but a Hebrew who was born “in Egypt and reared under strong Egyptian influence. . . .” “The founder of the Israelite commonwealth and framer of Israel’s religious system,” a man who taught “the existence of only one God; the Creator of everything; the Source of justice; who is equally powerful in Egypt, in the desert, and in Palestine; who has no sexuality and no mythology; who is human in form but cannot be seen by human eye and cannot be represented in any form.”⁴

⁴Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity*, p. 207.

Vocational Neuroses of the Minister

KARL R. STOLZ

NO DOUBT every vocation, especially that which is professional and technical and specialized, has a tendency to induce in its followers neurotic impulses, conditions and results. The mental health of a professional man, be he physician, teacher, lawyer or minister, is not a gift conferred from without upon a passive personality, but the progressive achievement of an alert and intelligent human being. What may be said of the vocational neuroses of the minister may be applied with indicated modifications to the neurotic doctor, the neurotic professor and the neurotic attorney.

The neurotic adult is socially maladjusted, emotionally infantile, tortured by irrational fears, the victim of false decisions, and the prey of misguided action. As a consequence the neurotic is personally depressed, and a blunderer in his human relationships. He is painfully aware that he is abnormal, although he may not be able to discover and identify the sources of his disordered personality or be courageous enough to cope with them if he does excavate and recognize them.

What are the principal contributing causes of the vocational neuroses of the minister? Representative taproots are (1) egocentricity through pampering; (2) the number and character of his bosses; (3) competition with members of his own calling; (4) the temptation to indolence; (5) commercialization of vocation; (6) indeterminate goal, and (7) disjunctive emotionalism. Some of these singularities, deviations and problems require more explication, demonstration and illustration than others in order that the vocational neurotic may be understood and an effective therapy be outlined and recommended.

EGOCENTRICITY

The idolizing of the prospective minister too often begins in the home and school. As soon as a young man announces that he has a call to the ministry and that he proposes to answer it, relatives and friends begin to give him preferential treatment. In their eyes he is set apart from other young people. He is considered a particularly consecrated and pious person. He would be hardly human if he did not accept as his due at

least some adulations heaped upon him. Only the young man of discernment beyond his years realizes that he has been called not to be indulged to excess by men, but to render a service that will exact the best that is in him.

The melancholy process of pampering is continued by admiring parishioners once the young minister has begun his vocational career. The facts and circumstances which make him believe that he is a being who is separate from and exalted above the generality of mankind are almost too numerous to tabulate. If he has been aided by a parishioner whom he likes, the minister is inclined to give him preferred status in the ongoing life of the church. Women inquire into the minister's state of health. His own wife may smother him with sympathetic attention when she should challenge him to take his part and be his own man. Railroads give him a sheaf of certificates which permit him to travel at a reduced rate. Shops deduct ten per cent as clergy discount from the cost of his purchases. Physicians give him and his family medical attention for a nominal fee or without any charge. Others may be persons, but he is still a Personage. A thousand attentions and concessions make him think of himself more highly than he should, unless he, like his Master, is lowly in heart.

TOO MANY BOSSES

People who pamper him also demand that he comply with their wishes and preferences. He is expected to pay for the favors and gratuities he has accepted. Bosses with conflicting aims and ambitions press their claims. When the minister is the victim of opposing and rival dictators, he becomes intellectually docile. Trying to please those to whom he feels obligated he is likely to develop a timorous spirit. A spineless creature, he is without a firm will and independent convictions. Realizing that, after all, it is impossible to gratify the whims and the unreasonable desires of so many overlords, the minister is progressively filled with gloomy forebodings and the consciousness of failure. A sense of frustration arises. He is distracted by rivals for his companionship, allegiance and subservience.

COMPETITION

Our American social order is still acquisitive and competitive rather than co-operative. We produce or manufacture for private profit rather than for the consumption of all. Collective action for the common benefit

has not yet been adopted as a national economic program. In fact, competition flourishes in almost every area of human interest. In the family unit rivalry between father and son, and between mother and daughter exists. Ruthless competition is opposed to mutual aid and support—a cardinal Christian virtue.

Vocational success leads not only to a degree of economic security and social distinction, but also to self-esteem. Failure results in impairment of self-regard and in financial embarrassment. The neurotic minister is prone to sacrifice the Christian qualities of love, service and humility on the altar of rivalry, whether or not he is a successful competitor. If he gains power and admiration, he is likely to become anxious lest he lose his gains. If he fails he feels emotionally depressed, defeated and scorned.

A hierarchy of status among ministers is created by overt conflict. Rivalry and jealousy not only contribute to the neurosis of the minister, but they tend to terminate his usefulness as a religious leader. They make him unhappy. A perturbed and depressed minister cannot declare the good news with conviction and enthusiasm in the pulpit, or in the privacy of his study adequately serve an individual who is in need of the guidance a pastor should supply.

INDOLENCE

The minister is subject to laziness. No whistle summons him to his study in the morning. In fact, if he is so inclined he may dispense with an alarm clock. He does not have to punch a time clock when he begins and when he ends the day's work. In fact, he can lock himself in his study, give strict orders that he is not to be interrupted save in emergencies, and spend the precious hours in seclusion, day dreaming and nursing his grievances, real or imaginary. He may deceive his own wife and his secretary, if he has one, with an impression that he is overworking. He may seem to be busy when he is idle. He may create the fancy or illusion among his parishioners that he is industrious and diligent, whereas in reality he is habitually averse to exertion.

He is disposed to procrastinate, to put off to tomorrow what should be done immediately, to neglect his appointments, and to offer transparently unconvincing excuses or unbelievable extenuating circumstances when confronted with gross negligence of the responsibilities of his office. He does not do the work for which he has been set apart by the Church and is being paid by the congregation. Lawyers, doctors, housemaids, business

executives and a multitude of other workers must either toil systematically and produce the legitimately expected results or be summarily dismissed and discredited.

UNCERTAINTY OF GOAL

How many ministers can describe in specific terms what are the governing objectives of their vocation? What does the phrase, "Preaching the gospel," really mean in concrete aims, skills and ends? What does "Building the Kingdom" imply in detail? Is Christianity identifiable with democracy? Fundamentally, what kind of world do we ministers want to bring into being with the help of God? Enthralled by the Zeitgeist, the neurotic minister may have an emotionally conditioned but utterly false aim. Furthermore, his vocational purpose may change with the exigency of the times. One untenable goal may dissolve into another and even more uncertain and treacherous goal.

The neurotic minister who shirks his duties, scorns his privileges, pretends to be busier than he is, and wants others to believe that work occupies all his time never really relaxes. He has no secondary interests. He has no hobbies. He does not know how to play. He does not cultivate the festive mood which should normally follow hours of sustained labor. He does not engage in wholesome recreation. He rarely seeks diversion or amusement; in fact, if he does he has not earned it and cannot really enjoy it. He is subconsciously restrained from normal and tension-releasing participation in the social events of his church.

SECULARIZATION

For the minister who has no independent income, the pastorate is a living as well as a life. Most professions are both a means of earning a livelihood and a means of self-expansion and self-fulfillment. The balance of these two modes is admittedly difficult to distinguish and preserve. The commercialization of a profession invariably corrupts the practitioner. There is perhaps no calling which degenerates faster and turns on itself and debases its follower so completely as the ministry exercised as only a means to material ends. The neurotic minister may be a professional idealist. He who cloaks himself in professionalism preaches and prays in public, does pastoral work and performs administrative duties all in a perfunctory manner in order to earn his daily bread and support his family.

The minister suffering from vocational neuroses flounders. He has

no central illuminating and directive purpose to the realization of which he deliberately devotes his efforts. He lacks a stabilizing and worthy point of reference. His ministry lacks significance and direction. He is like a rudderless ship, adrift and cast to and fro by whatever winds of the day may blow. Perhaps the outstanding defect of the neurotic individual is the absence of a dynamic form of Christian idealism which pervades all functions of personality, thus integrating them into a creative whole and preventing a split mind. He is devoid of both adequate orientation and motivation. He does not know that his disordered personality is in large measure the outcome of failure to pursue a clearly defined and estimable goal.

DIVISIVE EMOTIONS

It is obvious that the above indicated circumstances breed devastating emotional states. Personality adjustment exhibits itself in the emergence of emotions at natural points and in appropriate intensity. Fear and anger are normal and may be transformed into creative forces if they are controlled and socialized. A house divided against itself, the drifting neurotic is given to destructive paroxysms of anger. He is victimized by fears, many of which are not attached to any specific objects, but which are nonetheless deleterious. Anxiety and uncertainty produce inward turmoil which is torturous, and makes its host incapable of clear thinking and effective action.

The number of ministers who are subject to dangerous impulses is tragically large. Nobody knows how many at times experience an almost irresistible urge to set fire to the church or parsonage, or to shoot the chairman of the official board, or to poison the president of the Ladies' Aid Society, or to commit suicide. They live in terror lest in an unguarded moment they perpetrate some misdemeanor or crime which will bring them into disrepute or deliver them into the toils of the law. They feel almost demon-possessed. It is as if a malignant power had invaded their minds from the world of devils. To the superficial observer they may seem placid and calm, but inwardly they are seething with coercive desperation. In fact, periodically the volcano of suppressed fear, anger, jealousy and hostility erupts.

The neurotic is dominated by the fear of the penetration and overthrow of his defenses by society as represented by his congregation, his church officials and general superintendents. The minister, like all men,

stands in need of understanding, love, forgiveness, encouragement, and it is precisely these necessities from which the neurotic excludes himself. He is like one who lives on an otherwise uninhabited island far from the ocean paths which ships customarily follow. To change the figure of speech, he is like a man who has been hospitalized and been cared for so long that he lacks the courage to leave the institution to confront the world of grim realities and to shift for himself.

THE TURNING POINT

A review of the various symptoms of the neurotic minister discloses certain common factors. The vocational neuroses render their victims as a group inferior in the perception and performance of their duties. The neurotics display character defects, including indolence, dependence, cowardice and deception. The neurotic minister is reduced to the intellectual and moral status of a child or a primitive man. A neurotic function derived from a tragic episode of the early years may be predominant, but if such an experience is active it may be unrecognized by the sufferer. To be sure, the law of individual differences operates in this as in other respects.

Woven into the pattern of vocational neuroses is what is called emotional isolation. The tragedy of a lost perspective and of the possession of an active disposition to overemphasize the trivial and divisive contribute to the splitting of the personality. Overwhelmed by guilt and fear and inferiority the neurotic minister withdraws from the world of reality and seeks refuge in a structure of phantasy. He is afraid that his frailties, incompetencies and anxieties will be discovered by other people. He isolates himself emotionally by pretense, false humility, bluster and unfounded superiority. He develops a sense of estrangement which makes him a lonely creature, although he may be in the presence of those who would befriend him if only he responded to their overtures. Struggling with forces which threaten his moral and vocational status, the neurotic minister is preoccupied with himself to the exclusion of a wholesome identification of himself with the social environment and the living God.

Obviously the redemption of the neurotic minister involves, negatively, the elimination of emotional isolation, and, positively, the cultivation of what unites him in a living relation to God and man. The emotions which separate the neurotic from other personalities, such as greed, jealousy, anger, fear, hatred and suspicion, must be banished, controlled or displaced

by their opposites. The emotions which bring one into harmony with others, such as respect, love, confidence, faith, hope and mercy must be cultivated by the neurotic who expects deliverance. Prayer, worship, the reading of inspiring literature, and association with all sorts and conditions of people contribute to the desired end.

PRIVATE DEVOTIONS

The minister who earnestly desires emancipation from his neuroses should spend at least twenty minutes a day in prayer and meditation in the privacy of his study. Personal devotions may well begin without holding any particular petition or point of tension in mental focus. A quieting of the mind by thinking of nothing specific and an accompanying relaxation of the muscles of the body should be the prelude to the more active exercise of prayer and meditation. It is difficult to overstress the value of a passive form of introduction to effective devotions.

Meditation should not be a morbid introspection, but the candid facing of shortcomings and worries which perplex and confuse the minister. He should engage in this process not once, but daily until he has won the victory over his disabilities and faults. One discerning friend of ministers remarked that the collapse of the world of a certain pastor was precipitated by the cessation of regular personal prayer.

Prayer begins at home, but it should not remain there. The prayer of intercession should occupy its rightful place in private devotions. The other-regarding prayer tends to unite the minister in a relation of sympathy and understanding with those whom he is privileged to serve. Emotional isolation gives way to the sincere prayer of intercession and a measure of identification with society begins.

PUBLIC WORSHIP

At least once a week one should engage in the public worship of God. The way in which God is approached in church will depend on the temperament of the individual, his training in religion and morals, and the type of public service to which he is accustomed. Psychologically, worship is the awe-struck appreciation of God. It takes the individual out of himself and focuses his attention on a Being greater than himself, to whom he gives himself. Worship leads to a sense of sin, to confession, to repentance and contrition, to forgiveness, and to the renewal of the call to service and the fresh response, "Lord, send me."

It goes without saying that the minister who spurns the assembly of God's people when he is taking his vacation and church services are available, and seeks to justify his absence on the grounds that he requires a break in vocational routine is spiritually deficient and is only confirming and strengthening his neuroses.

THE LITERATURE OF POWER

The minister who is true to his vocation is a diligent student of important books in various fields. The advice to be a man of one book, the Bible, inevitably involves the mastery of other books which interpret the Bible and show how its Christian principles may be applied to the conditions of the world in which we are living. John Wesley was one of the most erudite men of his times, and provided his preachers and lay leaders with choice literature of a wide range. No doubt many a minister would be less neurotic if he spent a part of each morning in a thorough study of the best books he can obtain. Contact with great minds who have written important books promotes a unique fellowship.

SOCIALIZATION OF PERSONALITY

We have referred to the social and emotional isolation of the neurotic minister as a chief characteristic of his disorder. We have noticed that he withdraws from others lest his sense of insecurity, insufficiency and frustration be exposed and he be embarrassed if not actually discredited. He is likely to sever relations or not to establish them at all with the people whose esteem and companionship he most desires. In order that he may comply with the demands of his vocation and at the same time break down barriers with which he has separated himself from others he should deliberately cultivate associations with people of various ages and circumstances.

Letting the children and young people have free access to him is an excellent beginning. Childhood and youth are conscious of their need of guidance. They consider the minister their qualified counselor and helper. Children do not acquire desirable character qualities by listening to exhortations to be industrious, courageous and kind, but by being involved in actual situations in which these virtues are called for and may be exercised. The child's love for pets may be utilized by the minister.

One minister kept a rabbit in the back yard of the parsonage. It attracted the attention and aroused the interest of children, especially of those who had no pets of their own. It was not long before they requested a part in the feeding and care of the animal. What an opportunity such a situation presented for gaining the good will and friendship of children!

Young people in the storm and stress of adolescence are bundles of intellectual confusion, instinctual desires and conflicting drives and emotions. Activities in which both sexes may participate are wholesome absorbers of the tremendous amount of energy young people develop. All group outdoor sports are good for them and him. The neurotic pastor may be assured that adolescents are swayed by a feeling of inferiority, an inability to cope with the world, and an uncertainty of their place in the social order which are far greater than his own.

The wholesome associations with children and young people lay the foundations for an improved ministry to the sick. Not that the sick should be neglected until the neurotic pastor has registered definite progress on the road to his own maturity. He will, however, function more effectively in the sickroom after he himself has won a measure of mental health. A pastor may be neurotic but not have an organic ailment; hence, he can feel physically superior to the patient who has suffered a bodily impairment. With confidence he can supply the encouragement the sick person needs. The very fact that the pastor is ambulant whereas the patient is confined to his bed contributes to the poise and support of the ego of the former. As the minister outgrows adult infantilism and cultivates the marks of a mature man, such as independence of thought and action, emotional balance and fidelity to duty, he will progressively master the pastoral care of the sick.

Fellowship and comradeship with the above-mentioned groups give the minister courage to associate with adults in all walks of life. The rich and the poor should be alike in his sight—people who laugh and weep, who make costly mistakes, who crave understanding and appreciation, who have points of weakness and of strength. It is an error to assume that the rich, since they have the means to gratify the desire for lives of variety, luxury and pleasurable excitement, are beyond pain, sorrow, despair and loneliness. It is a false assumption that those who are members of the lower income groups are invariably so disciplined by economic restrictions that they face the vicissitudes of life with dignity, poise and courage.

The difference between the rich and the poor is that the poor, in addition to experiencing the facts which constitute the common denominator of all mankind, must also take into practical account stringent economic necessity.

The neurotic minister who step by step improves his social relations, not so much by expecting to be understood and loved, but by understanding and loving, will in time so identify himself with persons of all ages and various degrees of culture and differences in economic status that he will be set free from the chains of emotional separation. When the emotional fetters fall through active participation in his church as the continuing society of people who accept Christ for what He said He was and in the life of the community at large he will be reborn into maturity.

THE BREAD-AND-BUTTER QUESTION

As already intimated, it is admittedly difficult to maintain the balance between the ministry as a calling and the ministry as a means of securing the temporalities. "The laborer is worthy of his hire" we have been told by the highest authority.¹ We have been taught, if not by the same authority, at least by a great interpreter of Christ, "Ye did not choose me, but I chose you, and appointed you, that ye should go and bear fruit."² To combine the significance of the two statements and to make them function as a unit is not impossible but difficult, living as we do in a world in which material things are in the saddle. The good minister cultivates the courage, faith and emotional stability to adopt as the governing principle of his life the exhortation in the Sermon on the Mount: "Seek ye first his kingdom, and his righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you."³ The statement, "Man shall not live by bread alone,"⁴ is an appreciation of man's deepest inward need and his economic necessity which the personality that would transcend neurotic limitations comprehends and observes in practice.

The minister who is a normal human being and a faithful worker in the vineyard should not lack bread. Lavish living is, of course, inconsistent with the simplicities of Christ's earthly status. Although Jesus said: "The foxes have holes, and the birds of the heaven have nests; but the

¹ Luke 10: 7.

² John 15: 16.

³ Matthew 6: 33.

⁴ Matthew 4: 4.

Son of man hath not where to lay his head,"* He and His intimates appear to have had the food and raiment which the body requires. He did not starve or freeze to death. Food for the Last Supper with His friends was provided, and after His death a quartet of soldiers gambled for His seamless robe. Let not the minister who is unable to earn a livelihood in the pastorate resort to the real estate or insurance business as a side line. Let him withdraw from the ministry. The minister has not been chosen to starve, but to preach the gospel in manifold ways. There is a call out of the ministry which is as definite as the call into the ministry. If no congregation will pay a living wage and tenure of office is insecure and economic difficulties embarrass, let the pastor seek another parish, and if he fails to find a suitable new field, regard the melancholy experience as the will of God that he terminate his ministry. No man is called by God to become a neurotic for the sake of the gospel, for the gospel does not thrive in the neurotic and the neurotic cannot apply the gospel with success to others.

Private meditation and prayer, public worship, the reading of the literature of inspirational power, and the socializing of his personality are remedial agencies which inhere in the ministry itself. They are not instruments of personality reconstruction borrowed from another profession or calling. The conquest of the vocational neuroses of the minister resides either potentially or actively in his own calling.

If the minister is unable to slay the dragons of neuroses single-handed, the specialized services of a pastoral psychologist are indicated. It is useless to appeal to anybody who is willing to lend an ear, for the case requires professional management. A psychiatrist, a medical doctor who specializes in mental disorders, cannot give the neurotic minister the required aid. Of course, a clinical psychologist who has been a minister and is intimately oriented to the pitfalls and perils to which the minister is exposed is qualified to render invaluable service. Not many men who combine the psychiatric and ministerial professions have been produced in our country. In fact, the number of pastoral psychologists is not impressively large, but it is growing. Since the vocational neuroses of the minister are rooted in his calling and can be cured only by therapeutic vocational remedies, it follows that if the victim really needs assistance he should consult a pastoral psychologist and follow directions.

* Matthew 8: 20.

Salvation

CHARLES S. BRADEN

THERE are three well-defined beliefs concerning salvation in our contemporary world.

(1) The wholly humanistic concept which in its individual expression consists in the achievement of the maximum good possible to man in this present world through such manipulation and control of the physical and social forces of the universe as he, in co-operation with his fellow human beings, is able to achieve. This at its noblest and best may be seen in modern religious humanism in America. In some of its European manifestations the individual loses himself in a larger whole and becomes a means to the attainment of some social goal to be attained by the nation or the race. In general, the modern totalitarian societies of Europe and Asia are but humanistic systems of salvation which depend for the attainment of their ends on no force outside man himself. To be sure, it becomes very easy for followers of those systems to conceive of state or race in some mystic fashion which lifts it above the merely human level. Indeed, they may come to worship it as other men worship God. At that point the system properly passes out of the strictly humanistic category.

(2) At the opposite extreme there are those who lodge all hope of salvation outside of man and of society, going to the point of asserting that man is utterly incapable even of desiring to be saved except as the grace of God "prevents" him. All the initiative in the salvation process rests with God. Man is wholly unable in his own strength to achieve it. By sinning man cut himself off from God and incurred His wrath. This made it impossible for God to forgive him until the obstacle of guilt was removed, and man could not himself remove that obstacle. Only God could do it, and in His own good time He did so. He sent His Son who, by His death on the cross, removed the obstacle to God's forgiveness and so made possible man's salvation. Yet even so, man must appropriate by faith the sacrifice of Christ in order to win the proffered salvation. Salvation here, of course, refers not merely to the enjoyment of certain experiences here and now, mainly ameliorative in character, to use Richard's phrase, but to man's eternal destiny. It has its this-worldly aspect to be sure, but its major reference is to another world in a future life. Here man is nothing,

God is everything. It is the utter antithesis of humanism. It is easy to recognize in this statement the more rigid orthodoxy of fundamentalist Protestant theology; but is also essentially the view of neo-orthodoxy and of the continental theologians.

(3) The third group occupies a middle position. It is not humanistic. Man is not wholly on his own. There is a force beyond himself. Yet man is not on the other hand impotent. He has by his sin become estranged from God. Reconciliation is necessary if he is to attain salvation. God took the initiative in sending Jesus His Son to show men the way back to God. And knowing or being shown the way man is able to follow it. There is no obstacle to the reconciliation on the part of God when man repentantly turns to Him seeking forgiveness. On the other hand, all the resources of heaven are open to him in seeking to fit himself for fellowship with God. This group puts little if any less stress upon the achievement of the good life here and now than do the humanists. They are little if any less conscious of the physical and social factors in man's attempt to achieve his ends. In the main they believe strongly not alone in individual salvation, but in social salvation as well. But they put no space-time limitation upon the process which, begun here, may go on far beyond the limits of this life-span and this earth-plane..

There is much dispute as to the relative strength of the groups. Some declare that humanism is on the way out. I very much doubt it. Organizationally it may not be as strong as it was a little while ago, but its general point of view is only now getting down to the level of the man on the street and it is tremendously widespread among groups that have thrown off orthodoxy, the world of labor, for example. Our scientific age by its demand for *tangible* evidence of the truth of whatever has been believed has rendered man less confident of a life hereafter and by so much has caused him to become increasingly impatient with systems which postpone to another life the satisfactions for which he earnestly seeks.

I am not therefore able to accept the confident assertion of some of the leading opponents of humanism that it is no longer a force to be reckoned with. It has made a purely or dominantly other-worldly concept of salvation impossible for this generation at least. Man wants what he wants *now*, and the only way he knows of getting what he wants now is to join human leaders and movements which give the most promise of making the fulfillment of his desires possible.

The renewal in neo-orthodoxy of the emphasis on the utter helplessness of man and the hopelessness of salvation so long as he depends upon himself is a result chiefly of the last war and its aftermath in Europe. The rosy hopes held out that man, given the techniques of science by which to master the world and make it serve him, could achieve the values and goods for which he yearned, broke down in the face of the universal calamity that befell him during and after the war. Man had the techniques; he could build the machines, but so far from serving him they mastered him and threatened to destroy him completely. Out of the confusion and suffering that came to Germany especially arose the theology of crisis with its doctrine of the impotence of man to help himself and the proclamation of the complete otherness of God from whose intervention alone in the affairs of men could salvation come. There was not very much that was new about it except that it did not ground itself as orthodoxy before it had done upon an inerrant, infallible Bible.

It is not to be wondered at that religious-minded leaders of the stricken countries should have reacted as they have. Other epochs of human history have produced like results. Was not the apocalyptic hope of the pre-Christian and early Christian age precisely of this sort? Did not the theology of Kirkegaard, which the theology of crisis so closely resembles, grow out of a situation somewhat similar a hundred years ago in his native land? Is the gradual encroachment of this type of thought upon American soil an indication of the shadow that already begins to fall across American life? We stood off and watched Europe destroying herself. We did not want to be involved in it. We hated war, we said. We wanted to stay out of it, but slowly yet surely we moved toward it. Titanic forces too powerful for man to resist, demonic forces, it would seem, conspire to destroy him. Alone he cannot escape destruction. Only the absolute power of God breaking into history can save him. We shall, I venture to say, see an increasing number of theologians in America going over to this European view.

All this is understandable. Psychologically it is to be expected. But is it defensible? Is it not emotional thinking rather than objective thinking? And is this the way to discover the truth?

At this point we are met with the assertion that man is incapable of understanding the mystery involved in the problem. We are dealing with revelation. Revelation is not something to be argued about and explained

by reason. By its very nature it goes beyond reason. Revelation is a fact. It is to be accepted. God did break through the wall of separation between God and man and uniquely reveal Himself in Jesus Christ. The Bible is not the revelation of God, but is only the witness to that revelation. Orthodoxy, declares Brunner has "confused the fact of revelation with the witness to the fact . . . all the passionate interest which belonged to the unique event; to the Mediator and His act were thus directed from its true object and directed toward the scriptural testimony to it." It was because of this mistake that the assault of modern criticism upon the idea of verbal inspiration "carried away with it the whole Christian faith in revelation, the faith in the Mediator."¹

This charge is, of course, true of many, but it is not true of liberal theistic Christians. They still hold that Jesus was the revelation of God; they still regard Him as the Mediator between God and man; they only differ in what is meant by revelation, and the function of a Mediator; and what is more, they find biblical support for the meanings they assign to these. In other words, we are back just where we were before in relation to traditional theology—differing in our interpretation of scripture. It seems only that the crisis theologian does not begin by defending the record as infallible, but by selecting out of the "witness to revelation" a certain theory of revelation and a certain content of revelation which he asserts to be the true one. But on what ground? One² bases his whole Christian message to the non-Christian world upon what he calls *Bible-realism*. But what does this prove to be? Only, as it seems to me, an arbitrary choice out of many possible alternatives of that which accords with his own theological position. The liberals who also accept the Bible as a witness to the fact of revelation do not find in Jesus the kind of figure which the crisis theologians find; so, of course, they do not find the kind of a God whom the neo-orthodox find.

It will be well to state some affirmations which the liberal makes.

First of all, he believes in God. Using exactly the same tools of inquiry in observing his world that the humanist does, he comes to the conclusion that there is something more than just cosmic force back of phenomena; that there is intelligence, purpose and a concern for values

¹Brunner, Emil, *The Mediator*, p. 34.

²*The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World*, by Hendrick Kraemer, Harper Brothers, New York, 1938.

in the universe. This he admits at once is a faith, just as the humanist's final statement is also faith—and be it said, just as also the neo-orthodox view of the ultimate nature of things is faith.

If there is a God, what is He like? This is an absolutely necessary question in any discussion of salvation, for the meaning and method of salvation are dependent in great degree upon the concept one has of God.

Where shall one look for the answer? Where else for a clue at least than to that part of creation which seems to stand above all other parts of it in his ability to observe, explain and to a degree at least control the physical world which lies about him. We shall look to man at his best to provide at least a suggestion of what God is. Note that I do not say that this will necessarily tell us everything. It tells something, but it does not tell the whole story.

Where does one find humanity at its best and highest? For the Christian the answer is clear, in Jesus of Nazareth. Whatever Jesus may have been that transcends human limitations—liberal Christians would still insist that just in His sheer humanity and in His reported teachings He shows forth in its essential features the moral nature of God. For them this idea of God exhibited in Jesus determines largely their concept of salvation.

If God is like in character what Jesus taught and showed Him to be, then man's ultimate salvation must be in adjusting himself to the rule of this kind of a God. He must fit himself for the Kingdom of God.

What keeps men out of the Kingdom? Can just any well-intentioned individual enter? No, it is not so simple as that. God is righteous. He hates iniquity. One cannot enter the Kingdom without repentance. He must bring forth fruits meet for repentance. He must have a desire to enter. He must have a filial spirit which would fit him for membership in God's Kingdom.

But is this enough? Yes, says the liberal Christian. No, says the orthodox and the neo-orthodox. It is not so simple as that. What about inherited guilt? What about the awful chasm that separates man from God? How can that be bridged? Only by the Mediator, Jesus Christ, who by His death on the cross made atonement for the guilt of fallen humanity and so made it possible for God to forgive man's sin and restore him to a right relationship which is requisite for man's salvation.

This we are told is to deal realistically with sin, which supposedly the liberal knows nothing about. The amazing thing is that the orthodox

and neo-orthodox cannot see that for all practical purposes, aside from resolving a forensic difficulty, they deal with actual sin committed by the individual exactly as the liberal does, namely, as something individual and personal, bearing no particular relation to inherited sin, but something to be gotten rid of by the same process of repentance and forgiveness which the liberal holds necessary.

If it be granted that Christ by His death on the cross did provide the way of escape from the guilt of man's inherited sin, then it is already an accomplished fact when a given individual at a historical moment in time comes seeking salvation. He cannot repent for inherited sin. That can have no moral meaning. He can and must deal with the sins of his own which alienate him from God and bar his entrance into God's Kingdom. For such sin he may justly be held to account. For the sins of his fathers what moral blame can attach to him?

In the sense that the social ills of an individual's own day may be and doubtless are the result of the accumulation of the sin of past generations, one who accepts his social heritage without protest, acquiescing easily in the perpetuation of the injustices, the inequalities, the cruelties, the exploitation, the poverty, the terrible destruction of human personality, undoubtedly bears a weight of guilt which must somehow be removed before he can be said to be "saved." But the removal of one's share of this inherited guilt is scarcely to be removed by a transaction wrought 2,000 years ago between a divine Mediator and God. This kind of guilt can be effectively removed only by a resolute repentance of the evil and a determined dissociation of one's self from its continued practice. Does this mean fleeing from society? Not at all. On the contrary, it means continuing in it and making an effective protest against it, suffering whatever disabilities such a protest may require, and attempting to bring about a condition among men in which these ancient evils will no longer have a place. Living or seeking to live creatively and redemptively within an evil world is the most effective proof of genuine guilt-destroying repentance. And this has profound moral meaning. This seems to put one at least in the "way" of Jesus, who also lived creatively and redemptively.

Thus the liberal Christian does not lack a sense of sin and guilt. He has this sense because he believes in God. Sin is "missing the mark," a good New Testament definition. God, not man, has set the mark, though it comes to the individual man defined in largely human terms. True,

man's moral values seem to be required by the very necessity of social living. But does he create them? At this point the liberal parts company with his humanist friend. Man does not create moral values. He only discovers them. They are already there, wrought into the very fabric of the universe itself, waiting to be discovered. And as man does not create them he cannot at will repeal them. To be sure he can arrange the details of living; he can at will modify some of the by-laws, but the profounder and more basic values are grounded deep in the nature of things and cannot be changed. This is the *faith*—note I say the faith of the liberal. He cannot prove that it is true, but he finds evidence pointing in that direction sufficient to support his faith.

The liberal believes implicitly that sin raises a barrier between man and God which must be broken down before salvation is possible. He does not believe that because of some mythical sin of a first parent an entail of guilt is thereby laid upon all mankind. He believes that man's estrangement from God by deliberate choice made necessary some reconciler who would reveal to man the fact of his sin and call him back to the broken fellowship through which alone man can fulfill his destiny. He believes that no one in the long course of human history who, from whatever race or culture, wholeheartedly and earnestly sought fellowship with God was ever refused if he came in a truly repentant spirit, just because of some barrier of which man may not himself have been conscious. All through the Old Testament he finds men discovering ever new facets of the nature of God and apparently achieving a fellowship which for them meant salvation.

He can draw no artificial line of division between those who lived B. C. and A. D. insofar as the possibility of salvation is concerned. This view seems impossible upon the basis of the neo-orthodox view that man can only be forgiven after something in the attitude of God is offset by the work of Christ. Thus Brunner (see *Op. Cit.*, f. n., pp. 470-71): "Once we have seen this gulf (which lies between us and God) in its whole breadth and depth, we know that from the side of man there is no bridge, no possibility of crossing over to the other side. We cannot construct the bridge, for in this unfathomable abyss it would be impossible to find any solid ground on which to build. We can neither get rid of nor stride through the wall of fire which lies between us and God. Guilt is no longer in our

power. Only one thing could help us: if God Himself were to intervene, if He Himself were to remove the obstacle—and this means forgiveness.”

But God cannot forgive. “The divine law—the world order—requires that sin should receive its corresponding penalty from God.” God cannot “approach men as though no obstacle . . . had made the way impassable between us and Him. . . . Forgiveness . . . would mean the contravention of the logical result of the world law . . . a change far more vast than the suspension of the laws of nature.” I am quoting again from Brunner. “. . . The law of penalty is the expression of the personal will of God, of the divine holiness itself. Forgiveness, therefore, would be the declaration of the nonvalidity of the unconditional order of righteousness which requires penalty.” (Passim, pp. 446-447.)

Is not this a gratuitous assumption? Where in the teachings of Jesus, who is confessedly the Revealer of God, does such an idea emerge? It may be admitted that Jesus undoubtedly teaches that God executes judgment and that He punishes sin. It may likewise be admitted that liberals have assigned to God an all too grandfatherly disposition to indulge his children, and have not given sufficient weight to the fact of sin and guilt, but that “forgiveness would be the declaration of the nonvalidity of the unconditioned order of righteousness which requires penalty,” they could not agree. That would be distortion indeed.

It seems that at this point there is a failure on the part of Brunner and his confreres to distinguish between the idea of guilt and that of consequences. It is undoubtedly true that according to natural law one who breaks the law pays a penalty in a physical sense. There is no difference in penalty regardless of whether the infraction of the law were intended or not. But in the moral realm intention is the necessary part, else there is no moral responsibility. One does not sin. There is therefore no sense of guilt aroused and no guilt imputed. Suppose that the sin were one of the so-called sins of the flesh. This sin brings as penalty on the moral side a sense of estrangement from God, but on the physical side some irreparable injury, let us say blindness. Now suppose the sinner duly repents, seeks to renew his fellowship with God. Certainly no one would suppose that he would thereby have his sight restored. Any consequences of this sort would, of course, stand. But is not the estrangement from God quite

* (The Mediator, p. 446.)

another thing? This is something that rests with God Himself. The man has already suffered from a sense of guilt and humiliation at the gulf which he has created between himself and God. He is led to throw himself on the mercy and love of God and seek His forgiveness and the restoration of fellowship with Him. Imperfect men forgive. Ought not God who is all wise and all good and who Jesus led us to believe is also forgiving—ought not God also freely to forgive?

But says Brunner, such talk is "modern superficiality due to pantheism and naturalism." (Id., p. 447.) "Good people forgive one another, how much more, then, must the good God be ready to forgive! is the analogy they use." "It is," he continues, "quite ethical to say 'man ought to forgive,' but it is in the highest degree unethical to say God ought also to forgive. . . . There is no more impious saying. . . . Nor is this impiety modified if we say 'God forgives us if we repent,' for this simply amounts to a denial of guilt. What has my present repentance to do with my previous guilt? And it also amounts to a denial of sin; for the sinner can never repent in proportion to his sin."

But whence comes the certainty that this is the nature of God? Does it come from the revelation in Christ, or does it come from an analogy taken from observation of the natural order in which the law inexorably imposes penalty upon the one who disobeys it without any regard to moral considerations? If God is impersonal and nonmoral, just unconscious force, then it may be agreed that there is no ground for supposing that He would forgive. If He is what is revealed in Christ, who said "he that hath seen me hath seen the Father," the Christ who taught men to forgive until seventy times seven, who taught men to pray "Our Father . . . forgive us our trespasses," then the liberal can see no obstacle to God's forgiveness of man, provided man seeks it in a truly repentant spirit.

Furthermore, the assertion of Dr. Brunner that "The sinner can never repent in proportion to his sin" is seen to be meaningless on a little reflection. It is, of course, evident that he is repeating the old Anselmic equation that sin against God is infinite because God is infinite. But if a little sin against an infinite God becomes an infinite sin, why does not a little repentance toward an infinite God become an infinite repentance and so offset the infinite guilt of the sinner?

God it would seem, then, is a God of love, but He cannot be indifferent

to sin against Himself. He is also a God of wrath—that is, He is of a dual nature. Love desires to break through but wrath stands in the way. Nor is this divine reaction to sin automatic, asserts Brunner. "It is not expressed in terms of natural law, although it is according to law; it is absolutely personal. . . . It is not a coldly objective, impersonal, logical process. But, like the love of God itself, it is a personal movement: God's zeal has 'burst into flame.' He wills to destroy all that opposes Him."

What seems to be asserted here is that God is in some sense a divided personality. One half of Him wants to forgive, the other half demands satisfaction. If the atonement is the sole possible act that can provide the satisfaction, then it certainly must be said that the atonement produces some changes in God or at least a part of God. All this will seem to neo-orthodox friends pitifully naive, perhaps, to humanist friends a futile jousting with windmills which really do not exist.

There appears to be no way by which the views can be brought into any sort of agreement. If the element of personality can be left out of the neo-orthodox view; or better, if the reaction to evil be automatic and impersonal, if God in this is ruled by necessity and is without any freedom to act, then the atonement becomes in some sense intelligible. When it is made personal, it becomes utterly unintelligible as other than an artificial face-saving operation having no moral meaning, although it may have a powerful dramatic effect upon the noncritical human sinner. The drama of the cross is undoubtedly powerful. But whether it is more powerful as an act designed to show the lengths to which a loving God will go to satisfy something in His own dual nature, or to reveal to sinful men the lengths to which He will go to reconcile men to Himself may be a matter of question. The liberal finds moral significance in the latter interpretation which the former totally lacks.

Clearly it seems that liberal at many points is closer to the humanist position than to the neo-orthodox, but between them also there is a great difference. They are alike in their insistence on the strongly this-worldly character of salvation, but they are unlike in that the liberal does not limit the experience to this world or this life. He does not know what lies beyond, but he believes that values do not perish, and he believes that no gains made here are permanently lost. He looks for moral continuity between this world and what lies beyond, and is confident that there await

opportunities of development for that which is of value here but which seems to end on an unfinished note. He leaves to a good God—the God revealed in Jesus—the details of any future life.

Like the humanist, he believes that human salvation is both individual and social, and that it rests in no small part upon human effort. He believes no less than the humanist that he is expected to use every technique, scientific and social, to bring about man's highest good here and now. But he does not believe that this exhausts the picture. He believes that man's salvation is never dependent solely on man, but upon man plus God. When man has done everything which he is capable of doing, there is still God working in innumerable ways toward the ends for which man at his best nobly strives.

He does not have the unwavering faith in human nature that the humanist has—a faith that often enough seems to be betrayed. Nor does he lack totally a faith in human nature which, as in neo-orthodoxy, leads to an apocalyptic view of the world, and makes man's salvation wholly dependent upon some catastrophic intervention of God in the world.

Unlike the humanist, of course, he believes in Jesus as Mediator or Reconciler of God and man. But unlike the orthodox, it is a genuinely moral and in no sense a forensic function that Jesus performs. He reveals God as a Father—a Judge, too—a hater of sin—but forgiving when men seek His pardon. It is a very simple faith—it is lacking subtleties—but it is likewise profound. In this faith the liberal is content to live and to work for the fulfillment of the dream of a Kingdom "on earth as it is in heaven," and to await whatever lies beyond the gates of death.

Bells in Religion

KAMIEL LEFÉVRE

"For Bells are the voice of the Church;
They have tones that touch and search
The hearts of young and old."

—*Longfellow.*

THE often-heard expression, "as immortal as a bell," so commonly in use with the people throughout the ages, is a clear admission of the mystic qualities of a bell upon the people and their religions.

Bells have always taken a most important part in almost every form of religion. A thousand-fold in form and size, and made of a great variety of different metals and materials, they may be reckoned among the oldest sound-giving instruments of human contrivance. Tracing the origin of bells, we certainly must look back to a period anterior to that either of the Romans or Greeks. Assyria, Etruria, Egypt and especially China have used bells for many centuries. The Turks were practically the only people who prohibited bells from their country. They never allowed them to be used with any religious ceremony or even a social function, as they were considered an "invention of the devil."

In the oldest literary extant, the writings of Moses, "bells of gold," are mentioned as being suspended to the robe in which the high priest performed his duties in the sanctuary, and their ringing was the signal of his arrival to the congregation.

Medium-sized bells, used in the earliest Christian period, were merely made of two or three pieces of metal, beaten into the required form and shape and roughly riveted together, either in square or rounded form. The sound obtained from such rough combination of metal plates was very crude. Since nothing was then known of that nice combination of sounds, with reference to their overtones or harmonics or of the shaping of the instrument to modify the vibrations, it was left to the genius of a later day to develop these scientific facts and fix their relation to the efficiency and pure character of the bell, as we know it today.

But as soon as the method of melting metal and molding it into shape was discovered (although the Chinese had done this already with remarkable results during the past centuries), bells began to grow in size

and number, and their quality of sound gradually improved musically in tone and volume.

One of the first requirements of a group of people that settled somewhere in the early times was to erect a movable tower, to be used by their watchmen against warring peoples, to announce the approaching storms or any other dangers. A bell, called "alarum-bell," was hung in each tower to warn them of such dangers and also as a call to worship. Such towers became the first symbols of a settlement, the real origin of the community.

The natural desire for beauty, plus the growing number of bells in every tower, which in turn had developed in masterpieces of architectural beauty, opened the first opportunities of identifying them from each other, not only in musical tone, but through the form of decorations, because it was now possible to cast letters and ornamental designs on the bells. Names were given to them, which were for the greater part names of saints, because the early bell foundries developed first around the early abbeys. And inscriptions of a larger character followed. Monks and priests, with their wide knowledge of Latin, were mostly responsible for the inscriptions. Expressions of religious praise were added later and large inscriptions followed during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Such an example, found on an old English bell, typifies the miraculous power the people believed their bells to possess. Translated from the Latin, it reads: "I praise the true God; I summon the people; I assemble the clergy; I mourn the dead; I put the plague to flight; I wail at the funeral; I abate the lightning; I proclaim the Sabbath; I arouse the lazy; I scatter the winds; I soften the cruel."

Even the rich inheritance of countless legends throughout the centuries shows the religious spirit and character that bells have had in a large section of the family of man. The truth or untruth of such statements made in these legends has nothing to do with the subject, but only to show the religious quality that the bell has had in the existence of man, whether absurd or wise. Legends are not the invention of pure idealism, but traditions. Sometimes they show belief in sorcery, evil spirits and bad influences. They also show a childlike belief in fable and fancy, but above all this stands out the dogma that God is glorified by miracles, and the more outstanding the miracle, the more it exalted the power of God Almighty.

A typical legend tells, for instance, of the bells of Lanslevillard,

and dates back to the eleventh century. "Saint Landry, the priest of Lanslevillard, was found drowned in the River Arc, and this crime was committed by the men who had promised to escort him to Ecot. The announcement of this atrocious murder was to be made by Christ Himself. All the bells in the belfry of the church began to ring in a most excited manner, and all the people in the community ran to inquire what was going on at this most unheard-of time. Nobody was in the belfry, and none of the usual bell ringers knew of anyone who had entered the bell chamber, but still the sound of all the bells kept ringing. The church and vicinity was crowded with anxiously awaiting people to see what would come next, when the large processional cross began to walk all by itself toward the main door. One of the younger priests instantly followed and the astonished people fell into line. The cross led the way to the river, but no one carried it or even touched it. It stopped near a hollowed cavern in the rock, where the body of Saint Landry was discovered, from where it was carried back to the church and placed upon the altar."

A natural explanation of such spontaneous ringing of bells all by themselves may be found in the fact that in most of the convents, abbeys and churches, the usual ringing of the bells was done by monks or priests. And a separate hut or bell loft was attached to the tower or belfry, into which the ropes of the bells were carried and hidden from the sight of the people. And persons, hearing the bells and seeing no ringers among the bells, thought that the bells rang spontaneously with the help of God.

Many legends also relate of bells which would not allow themselves to be taken away from churches to which they originally belonged or where they were baptized. In some cases the bell would not ring when removed, as it was with Charlemagne's bell and which became thus a famous bell afterward. The proper explanation is probably that it lacked the expert installation and was not rightly adjusted or properly hung.

Some of the legends are also of a more humorous character, like the story of the church robbers, who broke into the monastery and stole everything they wished to take. In looking around they came into the belfry, saw the ropes of the bells and could not withstand the temptation to ring a peal of bells. This most unusual ringing at that time excited the monks to such an extent that they prayed for protection of approaching danger. The story relates that for some reason or other the robbers could not let go of the ropes and a miracle was proclaimed.

There are also many legends of buried churches, from which the

bells ring at certain times, either from the interior of the earth or from underneath the ocean. And many of these legends and stories have given inspiration to composers and poets.

The very strange part of bells has always been in starting superstitions, which was mostly due to the ignorance or the simple-mindedness of the multitude of the people. But it is nevertheless a true fact that the sound of metal, in the shape of a bell, has always given a religious meaning to peoples in every part of the world and most of the early Christians thought of the sound of bells as symbolic of the voice of God.

The mystic and peaceful quality of bells, plus the architectural beauties of the old cities in Europe, has always been an inspiration to artists and poets, and very often became the principal ideas for great works of art.

Robert Louis Stevenson, the poet, once wrote during one of his travels through the Low Countries: ". . . . These sweet bells, sounding now high, now low, now with a plaintive cadence, were always moderate and in tune and seemed to fall into the spirit of the rustic places like noise of a waterfall. I could have blessed the priest or the inheritor who left these bells to gladden the afternoon. At last the bells ceased and with their last note the sun withdrew. Shadow and silence possessed the land once more."

And Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, who has described his love for bells in so many of his famous poems, wrote the following notation in his diary while visiting the old city of Bruges, in Belgium, and which is so often referred to as the "Venice of the North," with its world-famous landmark, the Belfort and its beautiful set of bells dating back to 1743: "—May 30, 1842, I strolled through the fine old streets and felt myself a hundred years old. The bells seemed to be playing incessantly; and the air of repose and antiquity was delightful. Oh! those bells, those bells! how deliciously they lull one to sleep! The little bells, with their clear, liquid notes, like the voices of boys in a choir, and the solemn bass notes of the larger bells tolling in, like the voice of a friar." And again on the following morning, May 31: ". . . . Rose before five and climbed the high belfry which was once crowned by the gilded copper dragon now at Ghent. The carillon of forty-seven bells, the little chamber in the tower; the view over the old city; the singing of the swallows with the chimes; the fresh morning air; the mist in the horizon; the red roofs far below; the canal, like a silver clasp, linking the city with the sea—how much to remember and to be thankful for."

It must have been the vision of this dream city, enhanced by the harmony of the bells, ringing out jubilant and mournful, amidst its artistic and architectural treasures, bringing back the memories of past glory and pride, that were responsible for these lines in his diary and a possible forerunner for his famous poem, "The Belfry of Bruges."

And the greatest of Dutch poets, Joost van den Vondel, wrote many of his famous poems about and inspired by the many old Singing Towers in Holland in 1655. Of the bellmaster of Amsterdam at that time he said in one of his poems:

"His bell music surpasses
The finest organ tones.
He plays with bells as with cymbals,
Heaven's choirs are looking out."

A most extraordinary feature of the career of bells was in undergoing the whole exterior process of Christian baptism, including naming, anointing, sprinkling, robing, sponsorial engagements and every initiative accompaniment which marks the admission of rational beings into the gospel covenant. This was not with the intention of the remission of sins, but that they may receive the power to "act as preservatives against thunder and lightning, and hail and wind, and storms of every kind, and that they may drive away evil spirits."

A large majority of the people believed in those early days that the air was filled with evil spirits, which could be driven away by producing loud sounds by various instruments or objects, and their superstitious impulses originated from certain natural appearances which they could not explain. Even civilized peoples held for a long time to a belief and superstition, which gave them so-called the excuse to put the blame of such things as bad temperament, ill luck, illness and poor business upon something other or somebody else than themselves.

A clear example of superstition was shown in funeral processions. A "codonophorus" or "bell man" would walk in such a procession a little way in front of the corpse, not only to keep off the crowd, but to warn the "flamen dialis" to keep out of the way, lest he should be polluted by the sight or by the funeral music, and to rout the evil spirits from claiming the soul of the dead person.

The baptism of bells was forbidden at different times throughout history, but the custom was so revered by the people that it was revived

each time and even survives that kind of persecution at the present time. Even at the present time, the dedication of new bells is nearly always accompanied by reverent ceremonies and rejoicing festivities. This is not any more done for the old purpose to derive supernatural power and protection from the bells, but simply because they are taking such an active part in the life and religion of the people, singing their joys and sorrows in their daily struggles, being constant companions from birth to the grave, all through life and right up to the moment when the last farewell and amen has been said at the foot of the grave and the last note of the bell echoes with sympathy and the sorrows of friends and relatives.

Different countries shaped their customs and community activities by the sound of the bells, first with a single bell of medium size, later with a different note for each different call to finish with the joyous ringing and playing of the carillon, which is a set of chromatically arranged bells, and played by a professional musician in the service of the community.

The following bells and names stand out in their individual voices and in direct connection with the religious life of the community: The "Ave Maria" bell, for instance, would toll every day at six in the morning and at twelve noon; everyone, either in the street or in their home, was invited to offer a silent prayer, which was commonly directed to the Virgin Mary.

The "Gabriel" bell rang in the early morning to awaken the people of the parish and prepare them for their daily task.

The "Sanctus" bell, at the present time only a small hand bell, is rung at the elevation of the Host in the Roman Catholic mass, and is a signal for all who hear it to kneel and offer a prayer. This is also a common and most impressive sight in the streets of the Roman Catholic countries, where this hand bell is rung before the priest who carries the sacred elements to the house of every sick or dying person. This used to be a much larger bell in the earlier days, hung in a turret or smaller tower outside the church, and which still can be observed in the older churches and cathedrals. It is always rung to the words: "Sancte, sancte, sancte, Deus Sabaoth," which translation reads: "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Hosts."

The "Passing" bell was being tolled when anyone was passing out of

life; this custom even developed into a distinctive tolling in some places, and everyone within hearing distance was requested to offer a prayer for the soul of the dying person. It was also customary to repeat a certain number of strokes at the end of the tolling, to intimate whether the deceased was a man, woman or child. The most common signal was three rings for a child, two times three for a woman and three times three for a man.

The "Angelus" bell rings at six in the morning, at twelve noon and at six in the evening and is three strokes thrice repeated. This custom is still in full use in Roman Catholic countries; also in Catholic colleges and churches in other places. It is one of the most impressive sights to behold the workers in the fields, their rugged faces bronzed in the setting sun, stop their daily task to offer a silent prayer to the Lord for the blessings of the day.

The "Vesper" bell is also still in use in these countries and is an invocation for an evening prayer. The Angelus and Vesper bells create an atmosphere of deep religious faith and peace over the community with their restful tolling.

Most inscriptions on bells were of a religious nature until the beginning of the seventh century, at which time bell founders began to make use of their own language, instead of the Latin, and the character and nature of these showed a greater variety of sentiment and color and came in a closer relationship with the people and their daily life.

An inscription which was frequently found on old bells reads:

"Lord, quench this furious flame,
Arise, run, help put out the same."

The famous bell, Roeland, largest bell in the carillon of Ghent, Belgium, has the following inscription, translated from the Flemish:

"My name is Roeland; when I clap there is a fire;
When I toll there is storm in Flanders."

An old bell in Yorkshire, dating 1656, gives the following:

"When I do ring, God's praises sing;
When I do toule, pray heart and soule."

Another bell of the year 1645 tells the following message:

"All men that hear my mournful sounde,
Repent before you ly in grounde."

Most of the bell founders had their own professional marks and ornamentations, and some of the old bell founders had regular proofs of great artistic skill and craftsmanship. Franz and Pieter Hemony, the two greatest bell founders of all time, between the years 1650 and 1674, used one of the most artistic friezes on their bells, consisting of garlands interwoven with little angels playing with cymbals, bells and other old musical instruments. Some of the German bell founders practically covered the entire surface of their bells with all sorts of ornamentation, lettering and figures, making it a full bas-relief, which is bad for the tonal quality of the bells.

Bells were also used for many other different functions in the community, besides the religious ones. A certain bell would toll to open the city gates in the morning and close them again at night, lowering all the bridges around town; also to open the public markets, to summon the aldermen to the sessions and the courts of law, to celebrate the weddings of nobles and principals in the land, for national celebrations, for mourning and other events. But whatever the nature of ringing, tolling, striking or playing, the sound of bells has always a character of religious community life. And the inscription found on an early dated bell of the Middle Ages embodies this full meaning with the following few words; translated from the Latin, it reads:

"I am the voice of God; I call you, come and pray."

Bells have also often played a less pleasant part at certain times in history and were very often the unwilling tools of man in indiscriminate massacres. Their tolling has helped to drown the dying shrieks of innocent victims, of all ages and sexes, massacred unresistingly by the tools of the religious bigot or the political schemer. They have sounded their horrid alarm through an atmosphere reeking with the warm fumes of the life blood of the innocent and the helpless. They have lent their voices to trap the unwary to their devotion and then to make them the prey of the murderer.

The history of the "Sicilian Vespers" tells of such unwilling help in a massacre. The kingdom of Sicily, under the rule of different popes and passed on to various individuals in succession, was the scene of this horrible event. The family of Manfred, of Swabian origin, handed its rule into the hands of Charles of Anjou, a Frenchman, who, according to the barbarity common in that age, equaled his predecessor, Manfred, in tyranny and cruelty. Both he and his countrymen soon became unpopular in his new kingdom and conspiracies were formed against them. At least one

of these was attended with dreadful success. John of Procida, former Lord of Procida, an island which lays off Sicily, having been deprived of his estate and banished by Charles, at once contrived a scheme for releasing the Sicilians from their domination. The patriotic leaders among the Sicilians were easily enlisted. It took two full years to complete and hatch the whole plot under the indefatigable and insisting management of John of Procida. Different events in the meantime had caused the postponement of the plan at different times. On the third day of Easter, in the year 1282, when all the bells started their peaceful ringing for the vespers, or evening prayers, it was planned that the massacre of the whole French population, which had settled in Sicily, should take place. Soft and peaceful sounded the bells from their many belfries and turrets. Each church and convent rang its invitation to prayer throughout the island, and men and women, accompanied by their innocent children, walked in a happy mood to their accustomed places of worship, unaware of the terrible massacre that would start at any moment. In the short space of two hours over 8,000 French people were brutally murdered and butchered by knife and sword. Neither their homes, the sanctuary of the church, nor the altar were any proof of protection against the brutality of such wild beasts.

Another distasteful ceremony as practiced of old in the Roman Church brings the bells into a prominent role. Bells were rung to summon the congregation to the "Excommunication Service," at which the priest read the service from the balcony; and while the anathema was pronounced, the candles were put out, as emblematical of the extinction of hope in the sinner's soul, and which has been often described as follows:

"And call the Prioress to aid,
To curse with candle, bell, and book."

Art and literature have often found their inspiration in the soft music of the bells, especially after the musical quality and purity of tone were being perfected through the artistic efforts and accomplishments of the bell founders.

The wealth and commercial welfare of towns and communities were reflected with pride in the number of bells they possessed for the needs and calls of the people for their religious and communal activities. Not only larger bells were added with their deep tones, but also in the higher range of the smaller bells. Around the middle of the fourteenth century

a record showed for the first time that a special man had been appointed, whose duty it was to "perform on these bells by hand, for every need of the community."

The musical possibility of the bells as an instrument was greatly increased when, around the latter part of the fifteenth century, keyboards or claviers made their appearance in different towns of Belgium. The usefulness and practical benefit of these was soon found to fill a very important part in celebrations and festivities of every kind because a much greater variety of music and martial numbers for colorful parades and pageants could be played at any given time now, in complete harmony for the occasion, thus creating the right atmosphere around the church and the community.

The mechanical progress made in clocks during the latter part of the fourteenth century allowed even a greater use of bells when clocks were being installed in practically every tower and the time was being announced automatically by the clock on the bells. A definite beginning of the use of bells in a more musical manner by automatic use made its appearance when the "voorslagh" was introduced. This consisted, first, of a few simple notes, in the form of a little melody or folksong, mechanically played and operated by the clock. It was used before the striking of the hour on the largest bell, to call the attention of the people that the time was going to strike. Later it was also extended to the half hour. The growing wealth and prosperity, as well as the friendly competition between the different towns and communities, soon extended this mechanical playing also to the quarters and even with a flourish of notes, up and down the whole scale in the form of a rapid arpeggio, to mark every half quarter, which brought the pleasant remark that it "sang the time away with a song and a smile." This musical development was most dominant in those countries where the bells had become a regular and greatly loved part of the people and what is known as the northern part of France, Belgium, Holland, England and the northwestern part of Germany.

A good well-tuned carillon, installed in a high, open belfry and played from a regular clavier by a professional carillonneur, plus the automatic playing from the clock to announce the time, and three or four of the largest bells installed in such a way that they can be tolled separately for different purposes, is the highest point yet reached in the evolution of bell instruments and as a folk or community instrument.

Single bells, clock chimes, consisting of a few bells, a swinging peal

which usually consists from eight to twelve bells in the diatonic scale—each kind has its personal appeal and preference, according to its needs and requirements. All these can easily be played and operated by any person with a little training and a sense of music appreciation. But a carillon, from three to six chromatic octaves, installed in the proper tower and played by a professional “carillonneur,” fulfills the musical needs of church and community in such a way, which no other open-air musical instrument is able to give. Its music peals merrily over streets and plains, dancing over the rooftops, it is felt in the shade of the trees around the peaceful canals, palpitating with the hearts of the people at their daily tasks, singing of a glorious past and vibrating with hope for the future, the voice of faith and hope in God.

This was already fully enjoyed and appreciated by the middle of the seventeenth century in Belgium, Holland and the northern part of France, where every town and community were the proud possessor of at least one Singing Tower and the carillon art was reaching its highest point of development. Flemish and Dutch art reached the peak of its Golden Period, Rubens, Van Dyck, Breughel, Jordaens, Teniers, Frans Hals and many other world-famous artists were creating their masterpieces in an atmosphere of joyous bell music. The religious processions, artistic parades of the many guilds and historic pageants, cavalcades and celebrations of every kind, a mosaic of glistening, bright colors, displaying costumes of regal splendor, with flags of the finest silk, floating in the salty breezes of the North Sea, they all marched to the joyous rhythm and music of these giant bell instruments, the Carillons.

Bells have always played a jubilant part in the Easter season, and the “Alleluia, Christ the Lord is risen today” is always joyfully proclaimed from every belfry. Their message is full of confidence in giving renewed hope and faith to the whole world and in complete harmony with the coming of spring.

A beautiful custom still prevails in different parts of Europe. During the whole week before Easter all the bells are silent because legend tells that they have gone to Rome to renew their pledge of faith and truth toward God and the people. Not a single sound is being heard throughout the entire week, during which time the music is being changed for the automatic playing of the carillons, and which is used before the striking of the hours.

But on the Saturday evening all the bells and carillons begin to toll,

ring and play to announce their happy return to the belfries and the coming of Easter. Eggs and bells of all sizes and shape, in sugar, chocolate and candy, displaying the most colorful fancy, are supposed to have come with the real bells and dropped out of the sky. All the children and even grownups begin a delightful search through the garden and the house, where they have been hidden by the fathers and mothers. This is still a most delightful and fascinating custom.

And on Easter morning again all the bells and carillons toll and sing their happy welcome over the whole community, inviting the people to come and worship the Lord, and thus creating a unique atmosphere of happiness all over the land.

There is something deeply religious and truthful in the sound of a bell, like the trustfulness of a friend, something that binds us to home and church, the very dearest in life, something that vibrates the innermost strings of the heart and turns us toward the nobler side of life.

And when the sun is setting West,
And nature's beauties bring
A golden show'r of peace and rest,
With heart and soul they sing.

Modern Substitutes in Religion—A Challenge

AUBREY S. TUTTLE

THERE are three essential elements in religion: a Being beyond us and greater than ourselves to worship; the incarnation of that Being in some tangible form; and a goal of history commanding enough to call out the devotion and energies of its devotees and capable of uniting them in a closely knit fellowship of faith and service. A careful analysis of even primitive cultures reveals these common elements.

Much has been written on the origin of religion. Some writers have held that the most primitive form is ghost worship; others have placed fetishism first, while not a few have thought totemism took precedence. But is it not possible that no one of these or any other particular form constitutes the real root of religion? There seems to be abundant evidence to show that all these forms are attempts to express a common or universal belief in some deeper ground of unity out of which these have all emerged. A close study of primitivity points, not to ghosts or to fetishes, or to any mythical or magical beings or objects, but rather to a vague and confused intuition of transcendent Being. The particular object which primitive man reveres is merely an embodiment of this unseen power, and is never completely identified with the real object of worship. That real object is immanent in the particular form but transcends it, and here at the very beginning of human consciousness there emerges the lifelong problem of philosophy and religion, the problem which Poltinus, on his deathbed, said the world was waiting for someone to solve, namely, to put the transcendent and the immanent deity in agreement.

Professor W. H. Wright, commenting on Spencer and Gillen's description of the ceremonies of the Arunta tribes in Central Australia, concludes: "The Australian native probably dimly feels that some sort of mysterious, impersonal force operates in the initiation ceremonies and transforms the boys, both physiologically and mentally, into men. . . . In a sense, therefore, the Australian religion involves a dim, hardly conscious feeling of the presence of something supernatural, something that is not human and yet not material, but which is potent in the life of man

and which is efficient in working him good if enlisted on his side and this view of the matter is coming to be held by an increasing number of writers on the origins of religion."

The point is that these untutored savages are vaguely aware of some mysterious power or potency in the universe which transcends them, but which they feel they must obtain for their well-being. Among the Melanesians this mysterious power is given the name 'mana.' And as Bishop Codrington points out, "All Melanesian religion consists in getting this mana for oneself, or getting it used for one's benefit."

If someone objects that this is too abstract or philosophical a notion for the primitive mind to grasp the answer is given by Edward Caird in his *Evolution of Religion*. "The idea of God as a beyond and yet within is the ultimate essential principle of intelligence, a principle which must manifest itself in the life of every rational creature if not present to yet *in* man's consciousness the clear reflective consciousness of God is a late acquisition of man's spirit, but it is impossible that a dim anticipative consciousness of an all-encompassing power should not visit man."

There is, then, on the part of the most primitive mind a vague intuition of a mysterious power with which he has to do. In confirmation of this view we have the opening words in Baillie's *Our Knowledge of God*, "The great fact for which all religion stands is the confrontation of the human soul with the transcendent holiness of God." Also the translator's preface to Rudolph Otto's *The Idea of the Holy*, "The primary fact is the confrontation of the human mind with a Something, whose character is only gradually learned, but which is from the first felt as a transcendent presence, 'the beyond,' even where it is also felt as 'the within' man."

But this mysterious Being or Power is too far removed, too indefinite, too elusive. Man cannot grasp it even in consciousness in the form of a universal, but only in the guise of a particular finite object. Hence the longing for incarnation. Man desires to materialize or objectify the object of his faith. One of the most primitive forms in which this desire finds expression is the fetish which contains a mysterious power or potency for averting evil and bringing good to its possessor. The totem likewise is the embodiment of an unseen, mythical, half-human, half-animal ancestor. This mythical being is the principle of unity which binds together all members of the clan and of the totem group into one bond of fellowship for mutual defense and material and social well-being. And the worship

of this being through a totem is designed to conserve social values. That is a goal commanding enough to foster the loyalty and devotion of primitive people.

On the higher reaches of non-Christian religions, as for example, in Brahmanism of Hindu religion, the three elements are clearly distinguishable. The movement here is from the particular to the universal and back again to the particular. In the highest development of Hinduism as set forth in the Upanishads all the particular gods are reduced to one being—Brahmā, a personal god for the less reflective mind or for the esoteric mind; Brahṁā, an impersonal being or power—the soul of the world—the ultimate reality of the universe—the universal god. In a vague way Brahmanism represents a transcendent principle definitely immanent in all things, and in particular in the self or personality of man so that there is complete identity between the Atman—self, and the Atman, Brahṁā. Man is one with the eternal principle of the universe, and this oneness is the goal of all endeavor. This brings to the devotee the experience of eternal peace. But this divine principle in Brahma is incarnated in special beings for those who cannot leap at once to the beatific vision. Krishna, for example, an historic figure, a national hero, was one of the chief embodiments of Brahma.

In Christianity, of course, God is the only object of worship—a Being who transcends the universe in the sense of being its Origin and Creator, but who is immanent in all his works; "one God and Father of all who is above all and through all and in you all." But there has always been a desire for a physical expression of the invisible God. The request of the disciples, "Show us the Father and it sufficeth us," is the utterance of a universal longing, and the answer is the incarnate Son. And the goal of history is the establishment of His kingdom on earth.

Now the subtlety of the modern mind is revealed not in attacking religion directly. It frequently affirms the religious impulse as a universal and essential product of human consciousness. It takes cognizance of some if not all of the essential elements of religious faith and life. It moves up closely to the position of even the highest development of religion—Christianity itself. It uses terminology and thought forms familiar to the religious devotee and then emphatically denies the central truth of our faith. The peculiar danger that threatens us today is the substitutes offered for religion.

Some of these modern substitutes take account of all three essential elements of our faith; others make use of only one or two. But they are all alike in their attempt to approximate to the Christian faith while at the same time they undermine that faith most effectively.

Take, for example, the view of Walter Lippmann as set forth in his *Preface to Morals*. It should be noted that Mr. Lippmann has altered his views somewhat since writing this book. Nevertheless the critical analysis he makes of orthodox religion in the first part and his constructive position in the latter part may be taken to represent the attitude of many scientific humanists on this continent today.

The thesis of the book is that "the acids of modernity have eaten away the assumption that we are related to God as creatures to a creator . . . as children to a father." This the author maintains is not something to be gleeful about. A tragic thing happens when the belief in God goes out of a man's life and we must look for something to take its place, something to support life inwardly and to stabilize the institutions of society. He then lays down three principles congenial to the modern mind and as a necessary basis alike for the life of the individual and of society: maturity of judgment and of outlook, disinterestedness and the principle of good will. These constitute the gospel of humanism. They represent a new religion, a high religion, but a religion without God. According to this view, these principles which are at the core of the Christian gospel have no religious sanction. They are not grounded in the nature and will of God, because the acids of modern thought have dissolved all the ancestral gods, including the Christian God. Therefore the only sanctions for right living are rational, prudential and social.

In applying this principle to modern politics and society within each nation and among the nations, Mr. Lippmann does a fine bit of constructive work. He presents a goal big enough and commanding enough to challenge all well-meaning people, and youth in particular. It is a wholesome appeal to the finest instincts of humanity to rise and build a new world in which prosperity and peace shall flourish. But like all purely ethical and humanistic religion, such humanism leaves out of account the one factor that determines all else—the human factor—the toughness and inertia of the human mind and will, the fact that the human heart is not by nature predisposed to unselfish disinterestedness. The view presupposes rather than creates morality. The point to be noted, however, is that

here is a substitute religion stressing the most desirable goal of history as an object of human endeavor.

H. G. Wells presents a similar view of life and of history. His conception of God is that of a finite God—a kind of immanent power working through the system of things present in the struggle and suffering of humanity, seeking to overcome evil in the good. He has little to say about the incarnation of this power in an historic figure. All high-minded men who work toward this end are in some measure exponents of this principle and live in sympathetic association with this finite God. Jesus is given high rank with others in this noble endeavor. The goal of history, however, has a large place in the philosophy of Mr. Wells, and very definitely our efforts to attain this goal take on a religious significance. It does for us what the great religions of mankind are designed to do. "The process," says Mr. Wells, "by which the mind seeks to escape from individual vexations, frustrations and recriminations to the too-acutely ego-centered life is identical." For him that process aims at the creation of a world community or state—a family of nations. "The idea of creative service for this world state toward which the modern mind is gravitating differs widely from the all-being, the ultimate truth, the personal deities of the older religions, but its releasing and enveloping relation to the individual personality is, in spite of all that difference in substance, almost precisely the same." It produces the same effects upon the human mind and heart. "I find that the faith and service of constructive world revolution does hold my mind and will together in a prevailing unity, that it makes life continually worth living and takes the sting out of the thought of death." Here, then, is a religion to which men are invited to give themselves with enthusiastic abandon, and in the practice of that religion frustration ends and man finds the abundant life.

Julian Huxley is even more explicit. He comes nearer to the Christian position. In his *Essays of a Biologist* he asks the question, "What is man's greatest need?" He makes it clear that he means man as man and not man as an animal who in common with other animals has need of food and shelter. His answer might, without interpretation, be put into the mouth of a Christian mystic. Man's greatest need is "for a Being or Power beyond himself, greater than himself, through which he can harmonize his nature, resolve his doubts and upon which he can rely in the moment of his deepest need." That on the face of it is very satisfactory,

but when one views it in its connection the enthusiasm of the religious devotee wanes. The Being or Power upon which man relies is most emphatically denied any element of personality. It is rather a power or movement of some sort in the universe that makes for progress to higher and yet higher levels in civilization. It is a vague, indefinite, impersonal urge which belongs to the nature of things and with which we may be identified to help augment the stream and tendency that makes for progress and the social well-being of mankind. The quantitative analysis of that power, of course, reveals something far greater than man, but the qualitative analysis indicates something less than self-consciousness and will in man; and how a rational being can find support and unity for his divided self in any power less rational than himself the author does not make clear. Here, however, is a substitute for religion in the very terms of our faith, but destroying its effectiveness by denying the most significant thing upon which our religion depends—the personality of God.

To this class belong all those who speak of the ultimate reality of the universe in terms of a force which makes the ideal real or “a principle of concretion” that holds life together in unity or “an interaction that makes for harmonious relations” in matter, life and the realms of the spirit. Of course, God does all these things, but to affirm that God is what He does and nothing more is to confuse being with becoming—a person with his activities—and to affirm that a person has no existence in and for himself greater than the sum of his activities. It is to confound transcendence with immanence and to say that immanence exhausts the mystery of the transcendent center and source of itself. This view of life is in harmony with a strictly scientific description of the world. It takes scattered, abstracted, static aspects of truth and pieces them together by the law of cause and effect. It presents what Bergson calls snapshots or a cinematographical view rather than the heart of reality itself. And this type of thinking is very general. It has insinuated itself into all our disciplines of education, permeated the very atmosphere in which we live, is responsible for much of our superficial thinking and loose and irresponsible living of our times. It has almost completely secularized our thinking and given us a this-world view of life. This conception lacks any basic ultimate principle as a unifying factor in thought and practice. It has resulted in uncertainty and insecurity, frustration and despair.

There remain two other full-blown religions to be examined—Communism and Nazism—each of which embraces and expresses the three cardinal elements of religion. Communism is essentially a religion. Economic and political elements are, of course, prominent. Its economic ideals and political aspirations have at times overshadowed everything else. But basically Communism is a religion and the religious sentiments at the center of the system constitute its unifying principle, driving force and inspiration.

An analysis of dialectic materialism reveals this religious significance. There is a vast difference between dialectic materialism and mechanistic industrialism. The latter is an automatic unfolding of primordial germs. From the beginning of the process the end is predetermined and predictable. The resultant is mechanically fixed and controlled. No room is left for the initiative or spontaneity of any individual or factor at work within the system. Dialectic materialism, on the other hand, is vital and akin to something spiritual. It presupposes a living, moving stream—a process of history going forward to some desired goal. It harks back to the flux of Heraclitus. It is not unlike Bergson's *Élan Vital*—a flowing, vital stream into which one may take an intuitional plunge and be carried by it where he always longed and wished to go. This view is supported by emergent evolution in which there are innumerable outcroppings, fresh beginnings, at every stage in the developing process—fresh emergence which cannot be accounted for by an examination of the constituent elements which enter in to the new product. This immanent power or living force is the deepest thing, the ultimate reality, of the universe. It stands for God.

Lenin is the embodiment, the incarnation of this vital principle. He is completely identified with it. He became the channel of its expression in the history of mankind. Every young Communist by a deliberate choice, a surrender of will, likewise becomes identified with this ultimate power through his life and devotion to Lenin. Hence the cult, the pilgrimages to the tomb of Lenin, the complete surrender of one's person and the devotion to his leader's ideals. The loyal Communist has the feeling that he, too, may be united inwardly to this ultimate principle of life and through his allegiance to his leader become the vehicle for giving expression to this invisible, universal force and thus helping to augment the stream of tendency as it flows on to its goal—a goal of a classless

society, a world order in which class conflict, and therefore war, will cease unto the ends of the earth and peace and prosperity will be enjoyed.

One can readily see the tremendous bait to the youthful Russian. Under a system of lifeless religious formalism or of mechanical materialism he feels himself to be torn apart from any ultimate power or process of the universe but now is put back into vital connection with that power, likewise into fellowship with his fellows in a common enterprise and be made to feel that his life is meaningful and significant in the world movement toward a goal of good. This is something to live for sacrificially and to die for willingly.

Nazism has similar implications. Military conquest is not the central thing about Nazism. Militarism is to Nazism what the sword was to Mohammedanism—a method of propagating its religion. It is a trite saying now that the god of Nazism is the state, or more properly the racial spirit, of the German people. That spirit is the deepest reality about the universe, and if so should be recognized and made dominant in the life of mankind. It is well known that Hitler has his spiritual retreats, times of mystic devotion, with this racial spirit. In retirement he becomes god-intoxicated and then goes forth to his bath of blood. He thus poses as the incarnation of the German spirit. In his person and his work he is the embodiment of the highest, the savior of his people and a light to illuminate the whole world. His word uttered loud enough and long enough and backed by a ministry of propaganda, becomes truth. There is no other criterion for truth, no other sanction for morality.

The goal is world dominion, the universal sovereignty of the German race, and rule as complete and lasting as the ancient Hebrew ideal, not, however, with Jerusalem, old or new, but Germany as the center and all the nations of the world flowing into it. That is an ideal that stimulates the patriotic zeal and flatters the racial pride of the young German, inspiring him with devotion, sacrifice and enthusiasm to accomplish the desired end.

All these modern substitutes in religion are attempts to satisfy the instinctive needs of humanity. They present an object of worship; they objectify that unseen object of faith in some historical figure; and they present a goal of history as an outlet for their instinctive energies—a goal which they pursue with abandon and enthusiasm in fellowship with others and with their divine deliverer. And in that common bond of unity

and interdependence they find a sense of security and peace. We are told that young Nazis have their fellowship meetings where they witness to the inward unity, heightening of consciousness and emancipation of spirit that comes from complete devotion and obedience to the will of the Führer.

But all these religions deny the central facts of the Christian, namely, the personality, the holiness and the love of God expressed in the sacrificial life and death of Jesus. In every case their god is an impersonal, cosmic urge. It is vital and in some sense spiritual. It is moving irresistibly toward a destiny of coveted good, but it has no knowledge of this fact. It has no purpose, no sense of justice or righteousness, no suffering love, no cross in its heart. But inasmuch as the whole weight of science as a purely descriptive process, without any reference to ultimate explanations, throws its entire weight on an invisible energy resident within the system, working toward harmony and unity and progressively toward a higher and yet higher goal, therefore religions centering around an immanent cosmic urge as the ultimate reality of the universe have a certain appeal to the modern mind. Here, then, is our challenge. Can we successfully meet it? We can only do so by matching it at every point with something infinitely better than these modern substitutes offer.

The challenge demands a restatement and a reaffirmation of our faith, one that will not contradict the modern scientific interpretations of the proximate world whether of nature or of history, but will supplement them with a further inquiry into an ultimate ground of truth, initiative and faith. This is a large order requiring much more space than this paper permits. The barest outline must suffice.

First, then, we must clarify the ancient doctrine of the personality of God, recognizing that there must always be certain suprapersonal qualities in the infinite. Nevertheless the infinite spirit whom man worships cannot be less than man in self-consciousness and will. Otherwise true worship is impossible. Man may stand in awe of a mysterious, impersonal potency, but he cannot truly worship any being or power less than himself. John MacMurray's position regarding the personality of God appears sound. "All experience at any level is the experience of the finite in the infinite. At the material level we apprehend all material objects as finite and dependent upon a material infinite. Likewise our apprehension of ourselves as persons is at the same time an apprehension of our dependence upon

what is not ourselves but akin to ourselves, therefore infinite personality." It would appear reasonable to assume that the infinite power which wells up in us in the form of a consciousness and will cannot be less than that which it produces.

Secondly, we must clarify our doctrine of the incarnation. To understand how God became man we must go back, not to a point in time and place where God came vertically into history, but to the beginning of the creational process and see how, distinguishing Himself from Himself, God went out of Himself in creativity, energizing nature and history alike horizontally but not exhausted in the process, known by the incarnations of Himself in the world, ever seeking forms in which to reveal Himself, finding it impossible to do so adequately in the lower forms, but finally finding a form into which He could pour the fullness of His Godhead bodily; thus disclosing to men the truth about God, telling them that a heart beats with suffering love at the center of the universe for them.

Thirdly, we must present with greater appeal and fascination the only true goal of history, the kingdom of God—a society in which God is universally worshiped and obeyed, constituting a religious bond that will bind all men together in one family of nations, a brotherhood of man, the only true internationale. Plato envisaged a universal city of gods and men. Here was an attempt to unify mankind on a religious basis, but the weakness of Plato's position is that you cannot unify man on a plurality of gods. Likewise the ground of unity for the race cannot be found in the blood relationship of common human ancestry, or in an economic relationship of common temporal needs, although these must be taken into account. The ultimate common unity is the Fatherhood of God issuing in a world-wide fellowship of man with God and with each other. This will have very practical implications. It will not only mean a bridging of racial distinctions and a leveling of classes, but a leveling of tariffs and a greater measure of equality of opportunity on the part of all nations in their access to the markets and raw materials of the world. Here is a world vision big enough to inspire hope and to call out the devotion and heroic sacrifice of mankind. It will lead to the fulfillment of the poet's vision of a "universal ocean softly washing all world's warless isles."

International Conferences on Christian Education

FORREST L. KNAPP

MEXICO was the setting for two meetings of Protestant Christians in July, 1941. The first was a planning conference for one of the two Administrative Committees of the World's Sunday School Association. The other was an International Congress on Christian Education.

There was something especially enticing in the invitation to hold these meetings in Mexico. The source of attraction is partly symbolized by the great Monument to the Revolution in Mexico City. For years past, Mexico has meant to outsiders a country of frequent revolutions. To the Mexican there may have been various periods of open fighting, but since 1910 there has been *one* Revolution. It is basically a social revolution representing an effort to break old shackles. The people have sought to possess both their land and their souls. Some of the more prominent manifestations of the Revolution have been very undesirable, but the most important aspects of it are the underlying goals which must be understood in view of the years during which the people have suffered oppression.

Included in the Revolution has been a struggle between Church and State. While this struggle resulted primarily from practices of the Roman Catholic Church, it inevitably affected the work of the Protestant, or evangelical, forces. However, contrary to some popular assumptions outside Mexico, the Federal Government did not outlaw religion or public worship. It did place certain restrictions upon the activities of the churches and the clergy. These restrictions have been handicaps at some points, but they have not prevented aggressive Christian effort.

In a total population of a little under twenty million, the evangelical forces number a few more than 55,000 "baptized and others under Christian instruction." There is no way of measuring the influence of this relatively small number of Protestant Christians, but Ramon Torres, now general secretary for religious education of the National Council of Evangelical Churches, gives them a good deal of credit for the Revolution. Said he in his address of welcome to the International Congress on Christian Education: "The youth of our Christian schools going from village

to village sowed the redeeming seed of the gospel in the forms of principles of justice and equality and liberty in the hearts of country and village folk. It is the Church which, after all, creates true democracy—an order in which equality of opportunity as well as of duties and obligations is made possible for all men. Unfortunately, since sin entered the world, birth signifies pain. Just so the birth of the ideals which the evangelical church had sown in the soul of our people could not fail to entail bloodshed and pain. It is true, the Mexican Revolution brought its shadows and lacerated the life of the nation, and yet we must not overlook the fact that it ushered in a new order in which the dignity and worth of human life find expression."

The invitation to hold the meetings in Mexico came, first of all, from the National Council of Evangelical Churches of Mexico. The obstacles which this Council has faced and the success which it has achieved, under the executive secretaryship of G. Baez-Camargo, were good reasons for accepting the invitation. There have been pronounced divisions among some of the evangelical forces. These have been partly due to fears in some quarters that theological liberalism was too prominent in other quarters. But a more influential factor is the famous "Cincinnati Plan" of comity adopted more than twenty years ago by the mission boards serving Mexico. The attitude toward it is indicated by the name used for it by some persons in Mexico, "The Assassination Plan." The plan was in part a cause for dissension within Mexico and for disaffection toward some of the mission boards in the United States.

These and related facts lent support to the initial suggestion that conferences which would cut across national and denominational lines should be held in Mexico. And Mexico's signs of an ancient culture, its pleasant climate, and its hospitable people added very attractive appeal to the invitation.

The first of the two meetings was held in Cuernavaca, about fifty miles southwest of Mexico City. While usually referred to as the Cuernavaca Conference, it was an "enlarged meeting of the North American Administrative Committee of the World's Sunday School Association." Attended by one hundred and thirty-seven selected persons from more than twenty countries and supplied with information gathered in advance, this conference was able to base its considerations upon a variety of situations in a variety of countries.

The general function of the Cuernavaca Conference was to plan for the work of the World's Sunday School Association in the years immediately ahead. The principal work in the conference was done in five commissions—one on field program, one on education for Christian service, one on the use of publications for interchanging information among all countries, one on curriculum, and one which was known as the "General Commission." Although the first four dealt with certain essential and practical aspects of the effort to strengthen nation-wide co-operation in Christian education in every land, the general commission was assigned such topics and questions as these: (1) Christian education tomorrow. What are the implications for Christian education in the major events, trends and needs of the present world? (2) Christian education and world brotherhood. What contribution can and should Christian education make to brotherhood among the nations and peoples of the world? (3) Christian education and the world mission of the Christian church. To what extent is Christian education leading persons to share in the world mission of the Christian church? Should it do more, and, if so, how? Dean Luther A. Weigle served as chairman of this commission.

These assignments to the general commission were too vast in their implications, and too fruitful in the discussion which they prompted, to allow comprehensive conclusions to be reached in the period of the conference. But certain facts and desirable emphases were recorded for a commission which is continuing the study begun in Cuernavaca. The spirit and the fruit of the discussions in this commission are indicated by a few excerpts from its report:

"Christian education should afford (1) Christian nurture for those born in Christian homes; (2) a basis in Christian faith and Christian ideals for education generally; (3) a means of evangelization for all children, young people and adults who come within its influence—that is, Christian education falls short if it does not issue in commitment to God through Christ as Lord and Saviour, and in the deepening insights, the self-control and the wholehearted effectiveness in service which should be characteristic of the Christian. It was agreed that we need a statement which makes clear the essential and organic relation of Christian education and evangelism. As a first step toward such a statement, E. Stanley Jones wrote the following:

"There have grown up in the Christian Church two great emphases: evangelism and religious education. In some quarters, on both sides, these two have been looked on as antagonistic, and that antagonism still exists, though diminishing. Evangelism has said that life gets on by a crisis, the crisis of conversion. Religious

education has said that life goes on by continuity, by growth. Each has held a great truth. The analysis was necessary to call attention to that neglected truth. But each has been a half-truth. We now see that life gets on both by crisis and by continuity. We must provide for both in our method of religious education. Now that the analysis has been made and established, we must go on to a synthesis. The time has now come to heal this breach. We must unite these two streams into a living blend. For each needs the other. As the Church in China has said, "When all religious education becomes evangelistic, it will be successful; when evangelism becomes educational, it will become permanent."

"As a step toward the healing of this breach, we would suggest the following definition of Christian education: Christian education is a means of creating faith in and a personal acceptance of Jesus Christ and His kingdom, and of stimulating and guiding growth in Christian faith and life and fellowship."

With reference to the Bible, the commission said:

"A resurgence of interest in the reading and study of the Bible is evident in many ways: among college students; in theological seminary elections; in the new translations of the Bible; in a new attitude toward Bible reading among Catholics; in the current demand for Bible study in public schools, and for more Bible study in connection with programs of religious education; in the actions of young people's conferences that have been influenced by the Amsterdam Conference.

"The Bible must be studied by methods that are appropriate to its own character and message—the so-called 'project' or 'life-situation' approach is not alone adequate.

"Christians everywhere are turning to the Bible as the source of their faith. They are discovering afresh that it has a word for our times. It proclaims reality out of the heart of a cross-section of human life which suffered the typical problems in the midst of which we live. It treats of human life which created, endured and triumphed by the power of God's righteousness and mercy. It tells the story of God's singular activity in the life of faithful man, culminating in the person, ministry, teachings, suffering and victory of Christ Jesus. This divine epic of God's redemptive work in human situations has the potency to reach life at its deepest level, transform and develop it through the power of faith and Spirit.

"This Book must be known and made known. It must be interpreted by competent and believing teachers. It must be read by all Christians. Evangelical Christianity believes in an intelligent Bible-reading constituency. Evangelism cannot live without the Bible and a Bible-reading laity. This Book is the Christian's source book, his rule of faith and practice. Therefore, Christian education must teach the Bible, train Christians in its proper use, and inspire them to treasure it as the Word of Life. To this end, theological seminaries, teacher-training institutes and local church schools must prepare their students for this crucial task. Creative Bible reading, preaching, teaching and study must become central in our educational process."

Among the factors noted by this general commission as conditioning the development of Christian education today are (1) progressive education, with its emphasis upon the development of free personality, its

pragmatic lack of standards, and its "myth of neutrality"; (2) the assumption by governments of responsibility for welfare, with the corresponding risk of the denial of the basic human freedoms; (3) nationalism; (4) the threat to religious liberty in many parts of the world; (5) emphasis upon the present world, as contrasted with emphasis upon the hereafter, or upon a world of ideas; (6) the difficulties for the work of Christian religious education ensuing from such conditions as the lack of sufficient preparation on the part of teachers, the lack of adequate materials and equipment, and competing interests for the attention of the pupils.

The International Congress on Christian Education, which followed the Cuernavaca Conference, was a semi-popular convention. The total number of registered delegates was more than 950, of whom more than 400 were from outside Mexico. On the opening evening, the roll call of nations received responses from representatives of twenty-six countries. While many of these countries were in the Western Hemisphere, there were delegates or visitors from most of the other major sections of the world.

The nature of the program was such as would be normally expected for a semi-popular gathering such as this was. There were public sessions for worship and for addresses, and conferences dealing with specialized aspects of the task of extending and improving Christian education throughout the world. It is important to note that the program gave considerable attention to the historical, psychological and sociological factors in various parts of the world which have a direct bearing upon Christian education. Relatively less attention was given to specific methods. Thus the delegates were helped in getting a clearer understanding and a broader perspective of the basic conditions which must be faced in developing or extending an effective program of Christian nurture.

To many of those who have long been engaged in the foreign missionary enterprise, the existence of such factors does not come as news. But the task of Christian education has not frequently been considered in view of them. The easiest path for the missionaries has been to try to transfer to the younger churches the patterns of organization and the curriculum used in North America or Great Britain or other "sending countries." To do so was natural and, in the past, perhaps inescapable. But it should not be so in the future. Good educational procedures begin with persons where they are and as they are. This means that the effective

Christian teacher knows not only the immediate interests and activities of the pupils today, but that he also understands the history which has produced them, the sociological forces which presently impinge upon them, and the psychological reactions which are to be expected from them.

The church-school teacher in the United States or Canada may usually assume a Protestant Christian tradition as the background of his pupils; in fact, that tradition is commonly taken for granted. Even though an individual pupil is foreign-born, he lives now in an atmosphere which assumes that "the thing to do" is to have Protestant churches and church schools. But in many countries the situation is different.

For example: The Egyptian Copts today derive from a long line of ancestors who withstood the pressure to become Mohammedans, but the Copts "became formal and ceremonial and lost their evangelistic spirit. Their priests used the ancient Coptic language in their liturgies, which most of the people could not understand." To participate in an educational program of the modern kind means a break with custom, although not necessarily an unwelcome break. The African in the Congo and other similar countries is steeped in superstition. "Africans teach their children their customs and beliefs and object to any deviation from them. No one must ever have a new idea; or if he does, he must not let it be known to the tribe. The Christian religion is a new idea to Africans. In accepting it they surely face a terrific struggle and even great fear."

Or note some of the relevant factors in the Far East: the Burmese custom of sitting on mats instead of chairs (and so what place has the emphasis in American literature on religious education upon chairs of the right size to fit the pupil?); the rapid importation of American customs and standards into the Philippines in the last forty years, against a background of Spanish control imposed upon a Malayan civilization; in India "the persistent hold of the caste system, the grinding poverty of the Indian Christian, the swift secularization of education, and the intense individualism of the Indian"; in China the compression of centuries of progress into decades, and the trends "from clan loyalty to nationalism, from the large family to the small family, from Confucianism—whither? from the anti-Christian movement to the New Life Movement, and from feudalism to economic democracy."

Some of the factors which have a bearing upon Christian religious education in Latin America are suggested by the following two quotations:

"Someone has said that in the United States history is the record of what has been left behind in the onward march of the people; in Latin America it is a repetition of events under conditions that remain unchanged. The explanation of the unfavorable situation of Latin America is found in the beginnings of the colonies. Latin America was not colonized, as was North America, by men who came with their families to subdue the wilderness and develop farms. It was conquered by warriors, who divided the land into great estates and who reduced the Indians to the position of serfs. The system of landownership, called *latifundia*, is responsible more than any other cause for the slow development of Latin America.

"But this situation is being changed. There has been a growing movement toward industrialization. And this brings with it, by necessity, an insistent demand for a literate population. Men cannot manage machines well if they cannot read directions. Even dictators see that it is to their interest to overcome illiteracy. All the countries are showing improvement in public education. And something else that is new is appearing in Latin America. There is a labor movement and with it some stirrings of a social conscience. Formerly revolutions were horizontal, which meant that one party of the same kind of men cast out another party. These two parties were known as Conservative and Liberal, the main difference between them being in their relationship to the Church. Today the Latin-American republics have experienced or have been threatened with social revolution—that is, with a vertical revolution, or upheaval. Many states are fearful that the experience of Mexico may be repeated in them. The political divisions today are not over their attitude to the Church, but their attitude to capital and labor.

"The fact that Mexico was conquered by one of the outstanding Roman Catholic peoples in the sixteenth century caused a tremendous influence upon the history and development of our Mexican people. The indigenous tribes that were the owners of our country used to worship the sun, the moon, the mountains, etc. The Spaniards came and took off such gods, and in turn they offered images of virgins and saints to be worshiped. They baptized the Indians even by force, and finally they claimed that they had Christianized them. Even now most of our people believe that they are Christian because they have been baptized and do worship the saints. They do not feel the need for religious education. So they have kept many superstitions through the centuries.

"Both the Roman Catholic priests and the big landlords tried to keep the Mexican people in ignorance as a means of keeping them in subjection. The result is that a large portion of the people has become accustomed to living in ignorance, to obeying the Roman Catholic priest, accepting all that he says, and to being the slaves of the big landowner. After more than one hundred years of political independence, the indigenous people, the most exploited and oppressed, still maintain that passive attitude that is named 'the Indian inertia.'

"The Mexican Revolution that began over one hundred years after the National Independence Movement still marches on and in many ways affects our program of Christian education. It is a national social movement which embodies great ideals and projects, such as these: distribution of the immense tracts of land for the benefit of thousands of peasants; the establishment of schools for the education of people even in the most isolated rural communities; irrigation of the land by canalizing rivers and building dams; the promotion of a better type of agriculture by the use of modern machinery; the improvement of the workers'

situation by securing higher wages for them as well as facilities for their culture and progress; the socialization of teaching, a project which during a certain period of time became very radical and even anti-religious; the incorporation of the indigenous groups into the life of our nation."¹

Among the addresses which provoked notable response among the delegates was that of Dr. Frank C. Laubach on illiteracy. All the delegates knew there is much illiteracy in the world, but to most of them it had not previously become clear that three fifths of the people of the world cannot read. And for the first time for many who heard him, it became inescapably clear that there is a very close relation between the fact of illiteracy and the task of world-wide Christian education. Three suggestions have been offered. One is to revert to the principle of the Miracle and Mystery plays of the Middle Ages and make extensive use of drama in order to reach the illiterates. A second is to be much more aggressive in teaching illiterates to sing good Christian hymns which are suited to their needs and understanding. A third is to produce very simple lesson materials with Christian objectives to be used by illiterates in the process of becoming literate, and thus utilize at once the opportunity provided by the literacy movement which is rapidly spreading.

To understand the full nature of these two meetings, it is necessary to know the nature and work of the World's Sunday School Association. The Association is a federation of national and international agencies which carry responsibility for improving and promoting Christian education. Its task is to develop and strengthen such national, interdenominational agencies and to unite them in a world-wide fellowship. Although its original interest in the Sunday school has continued through its more than fifty years of history to be a primary interest, its concern has broadened to take account of *all* agencies and means of Christian education.

There are at least three significant facts regarding the Congress:

The first is that it was held in such times as these. Many persons questioned the advisability of undertaking an international gathering when the international wars were already on the way to engulfing the entire world. But the meetings were held, and they served as a public symbol of the fact that the Christian forces are undaunted by the advance of the manifestations of evil.

¹ These items regarding the factors affecting the program of Christian education are from addresses by speakers in the Congress program: On Egypt, by Ralph T. McLaughlin; on the Congo, by Lorena Kelly; on Burma, by Cecil Hobbs; on the Philippines, by J. L. Hooper; on India, by Sue E. Weddell; on Latin America, by Charles S. Detweiler; on Mexico, by Juan Diaz G.

Second, the meetings were held in Mexico, a country which never before had had an international Protestant gathering. Persons in such countries as the United States and Canada are likely to be little aware of what it can mean to the minority forces among the younger churches to be hosts to delegates from many countries. In this connection it is not of least importance that a large proportion of the delegates from outside Mexico came from the United States—a country looked upon by Mexicans sometimes in dislike, sometimes in fear, and sometimes in awe.

In writing of the values of the Congress for Mexico, Mr. Baez-Camargo says that it brought to the Mexican churches a word of much-needed encouragement; that it helped to win the recognition of the government for the evangelical forces, and that the sharing of experience with persons from other countries left the Mexican churches with a much wider horizon and a deepened consciousness of responsibility.

Third, there was an unprecedented measure of co-operation from the Mexican government for this evangelical gathering. Official invitations were sent by the Tourist Bureau of the Federal Government and by the Governor of the Federal District to the World's Sunday School Association to hold the meeting in Mexico City. Representatives of the Federal Government appeared at the opening session of the Congress to extend a welcome to the delegates, and then, most dramatic of all, the Palace of Fine Arts, a building owned by the Federal Government, was made available to the Congress for its Festival of International Music. That building, the most beautiful in the whole of Mexico, had, it is understood, never before been made available for any meeting in the name of religion. True, it was specified by the government that there must not be worship, but the original restriction that the music itself must be secular rather than sacred was removed and nearly all the music was sacred.

In the development of an ecumenical consciousness throughout the world, it is probable that the Sunday-school or Christian education conventions have had much more influence than is commonly recognized. The World Conventions began in London in 1889 and have continued at intervals ever since, having been held in such great cities as Jerusalem, Rome, Tokyo, Los Angeles, Glasgow and Rio de Janeiro. It is certain that, when delegates from many countries and many denominations come together without any race or similar distinction, a sense of fellowship develops which, even though intangible, means much for the future attitudes and practices of all who are involved.

Dunkirk in Retrospect

EDGAR P. DICKIE

IT IS perhaps a duty, when you have lived for a little on the rim of history in the making, to set down a note of the scene. This brief account by one who was privileged to serve as supervisor of church canteens in France may serve two purposes: 1. The churches in America may be interested in a venture of the Church of Scotland. 2. It may prove useful when the scene is set once again in similar circumstances for another, and this time a decisive, chapter of history.

In the Spring of 1940, the four-years' war became known to the French as *L'Autre*; and everywhere you could hear the serious and determined phrase, *Il faut en finir*. It has a pathetic sound now, when we know the sequel for France.

L'Autre seemed far enough away, a dream that had long been deprived of its sharpest outlines; but gradually, back among the old, familiar scenes and places, the feeling grew that it was the years between which had constituted the dream; now we were simply going on where we had stopped in 1918.

It was strange to be crossing the Channel in a civilian boat and yet to be going neither to summer holiday nor to winter sports, but to a war. Apart from the gorgeous accoutrements of the war correspondents—who later complained that in the beginning they were mistaken for visiting royalties and in the end for fifth columnists—and my own more modest disguise, of khaki, clerical collar, and Balmoral bonnet with the Saint Andrew's cross, there was only a small sprinkling of uniform.

With the experience of the last war to go by, the Church was quickly in the field and between twenty and thirty widely separated areas had been allocated. The most northerly were close to the Belgian frontier, and they extended as far south as the mouth of the Loire, at Nantes. The home committee had with great wisdom and forethought decided that the chief emphasis should be laid on the spiritual side of the Church's ministry to the forces; a chapel was to be attached to every hut; and, in each property taken over for the work, one room, if possible an "upper room," was to be set aside for quietness and worship. Experience showed that this feature was invaluable, both for the troops who used the center and for the staff

who directed. It is right that men should be brought into an atmosphere remote from the regimen of the barracks, but worship ought to have its own characteristic discipline. With men who have been trained until precision and orderliness are second nature, conspicuous disregard of these things may bring religion into ill repute. The refreshing atmosphere of homeliness is essential, but few of the men would interpret that to mean a casual call to worship, in the room where they have just finished eating, or where others, of a different mind, are impatiently waiting to resume a game of cards. It is confirmation of the Church's wisdom in this respect to learn that the army of the United States of America has launched a program to provide six hundred chapels to replace the improvised buildings which hitherto served the purposes of worship; and to measure the importance attached to that scheme by having one chapel for each regiment.

The most advanced post was at Lille. It held a strategic position close to the railway station and in one of the toughest areas of the town. The staff had already plunged enthusiastically into work which was very different from anything they had ever before tackled in their home parishes. Their day was frequently fourteen hours long. The military situation at that time was not unlike that which followed the Armistice of 1918, when men had completed their work and wanted nothing so much as to be done with military life and get back to their homes. So, in those eight months of waiting, which led an old lady to say that "this war had kind of fallen through," Public Enemy Number One was boredom. The canteen provided games, piano, radio, reading rooms, with a library of 2,000 volumes, beds—for the railway transport officer frequently sent over men who had missed their trains—and baths! From the counter poured a constant stream of cigarettes, tea, eggs, and fried potatoes. The soldier is still the same. The more indigestible the food the more popular it is. In one day I have seen enough doughnuts devoured to sink a battleship.

The "upper room" was a beautifully designed chapel, a quiet and unobtrusive witness to the most precious heritage of Scottish homes and faith. And indeed it was found that homesickness was a kind of *preparatio evangelica*. One haunting memory is of a man who arrived back only four days after he had gone on a fortnight's leave. When he reached London he found that he had not the courage to go home, because of the thought of having to leave it all again in so short a time. He telegraphed to his wife, they had a talk on the telephone, and then he came straight back.

As in all our centers, the "upper room" was placed at the disposal of the army chaplains whenever they required a place for interviews, conferences, and communion services, and care was taken that our chapel arrangements should not interfere with the regular church parades of units in the neighborhood. Occasionally it was discovered that some small party of men was out of reach of a convenient Presbyterian service, and these would be invited to join regularly in the morning or evening service in our chapels. It is impossible to reckon how much was to be owed in hours of danger and distress to a brief spell of stillness apart in those lovely shrines.

On the whole, language difficulties were not severe, though I for one should have found it easier if the technical terms used by the French contractors had been theological. As was inevitable in those early stages they inclined rather to be *cloacal*, and after a few weeks' practice most of us could write a passable piece of prose, in the most idiomatic French, on the subject of drains. A good refresher course was supplied through long days in the car with our French architect. The alternative was silence, since his only word of English was "Okay." In many long journeyings I came to know him well and to appreciate his qualities. His father had the contract for rebuilding the church of Armentières in the reconstruction of 1919, and it is to be hoped that he himself will be called to a similar task when this trouble is past. As a devout Roman Catholic he was distressed by the spiritual state of France. Being pressed on the point he declared: "There is some sign of a spiritual revival among the young people below the age of twenty-five; for the rest, we are a pack of skeptics." It was my first indication that all was not well; for his implication was that many of the French people believed in nothing at all, not even in France, as worth fighting for.

The vital task of the Church centers was to keep the men happy, occupied, and wholesome, particularly as, in many of the local estaminets, there were offered other types of attraction which were far from innocent. An interesting by-product of that waiting war was the enormous amount of letter-writing done by all ranks. The increase compared with 1914-1918 was so great that it was measured not in numbers but in tons. One memorable thing is to be recorded in connection with the men's home letters. A younger officer who had not, he confessed, thought or lived very seriously before, began to appear at church. The chaplain drew alongside

him and inquired what it was that had brought about the change. "Padre," the officer said, "I'm going to be quite frank. I've been *converted*, and in a queer way. It came through censoring the men's letters. There is so much real, simple, touching religion in the natural words of men writing to their wives, their sweethearts, their mothers, their children, that they have made a different man of me."

Our women workers, who were allowed to operate, not in the battle zone, but on the lines of communications, believed that their chief aim should be to *mother* the troops, giving them all the little attentions they would receive at home—darning their socks, producing new woollies from the store when old ones were worn out, admiring their photographs, sympathizing with them over their unjust treatment by the sergeant-major, and for an hour in the day doing all that is commonly known as "spoiling" them, besides having a Bible ready for them if they asked for it.

The other advanced center was at Douai. On the day of the housewarming, Staff Officers were present, together with the Commanding Officers of the Scottish battalions in the neighborhood and padres of all denominations. The inaugural tea party was reminiscent of a church bazaar with the sexes changed. A service was held in the chapel, furnished in one wing of the building, a chapel which was greatly used as time went on and which provided, as they all did, a real oasis of stillness in the midst of strife which countless men were to remember with gratitude in hours of strain and tension. The leader at Douai promptly launched two extensions. The first was for a battalion of the Royal Scots, which was to be the spearhead of the advance into Belgium on the 10th of May, from whose battalion headquarters was to come the memorable last message by wireless, "We are completely surrounded, giving as good as we get." Then silence. The second extension was at the railhead of the First Corps. Here we found 600 men who had just gone on leave when the invasion of the Low Countries was seen to be imminent. They were turned back within sight of the cliffs of Dover. Next they were machine gunned in the docks of Boulogne, and then we found them in the middle of an air attack. We set about preparing dixies of tea for them and, till it was ready, passed out writing paper and envelopes, so that they might write to the homes which they were prevented from visiting. They wanted—good fellows—to pay for it, finding it impossible to understand that paper

with the crest of the Church of *Scotland* was to be given away free. They were into the battle next day, and I have sometimes thought wistfully how many last letters home must have been written on that note paper.

Supervisors of philanthropic organizations were quartered in Arras, to be in touch with G. H. Q. there. Sunday morning church parade was held in a real church, and was attended with unfailing regularity by Lord Gort. Mr. H. G. Wells may sneer about our "praying generals," but there is little doubt that the men at Dunkirk put more trust in Gort's prayers than in all the ranting of oratorical rationalists.

A tour of the whole area carried the supervisor through a large part of the fairest land of France—by pine woods starred with primroses and cowslips, down the valley of the Loire, bright with yellow gorse and delicate apple blossom, and close by the blue sardine nets of Le Croisic, all in the most beautiful springtime any of us can remember. Can any punishment be too harsh for the evil men whose lust was to desecrate and shatter this ethereal loveliness?

On the 17th of May, when the enemy attack had been developing its full force for a week, we began to hear of "the bulge," which rapidly threatened to become a break-through. Arras, Douai, and Lille had all been bombed, and in the afternoon of that day our people were ordered to leave their stations, with as much gear as they could muster in half-an-hour and hope to carry with them. New and unexpected problems had to be solved. The director of the center in Lille set off on a long and arduous trek, doggedly and buoyantly leading his fellow workers out of a precarious situation to ultimate safety. The leader at Douai (J. M. Hamilton, a graduate of Union Theological Seminary, New York), proved, from the day he took over with an administrative mind that was swift and sure, to the time when he shepherded his staff by adventurous roads out of danger, to be a tower of strength. At Amiens the troop trains were passing through so quickly that there was no time for the men to leave the railway station, so the canteen staff placed dixies of tea at intervals along the line and served a quick meal free of charge. Once again the order came to evacuate, and we moved out, one hop ahead of the German tanks. At Fécamp there were two refugee problems. A hundred merchant seamen were stranded in the port: the canteen staff had to commandeer mattresses and find corners for as many as possible; and streams of exiles from Holland and Belgium were pouring in every hour. These were given shelter, food,

and warmth in the canteen till billeting could be arranged. No one who was there will readily forget the old woman of eighty, who sat placid but helpless in a corner. She had been driven from her home, after seeing her husband killed by her side. At Rouen there had been very little bombing so far except on the outskirts and in camps in the vicinity, but four or five alerts each night were murdering sleep, and all were waiting rather breathlessly for the massed attack which was almost sure to come. When the suggestion was made that the women members of the staff should be transferred at once to a safer area, they did not absolutely refuse to obey orders, but there were tears in their eyes, and they pleaded to be allowed to remain at their posts; so long as there was work to be done they felt that their duty was there. In the end a compromise arrangement was made, by which billets were secured for them outside the town to which they promised to go each night when darkness fell, returning each morning to their work in the canteen. At this time we had the first indication that clerical collars were suspect. So many spies had been dropped in the Netherlands wearing this disguise that a general routine order enacted that chaplains and philanthropic workers should dispense with them. It was a pity, for the professional mark made it possible to speak without embarrassment to anyone from private soldier to general.

The German thrust was reaching out toward the coast. It was as if the bottom had fallen out of a familiar world. German tanks coming steadily on; a yawning gap in the French lines, through which mechanized forces were pouring in rapidly increasing numbers; nothing substantial now between the enemy and Paris, and haunting fears about what was happening up there to the B. E. F. in Belgium.

The news filtered through that Weygand was being recalled from the East to take the place of General Gamelin. Too late. But, even had it been in time, it is doubtful whether he was the man for the task. He was seventy-three, a devout Roman Catholic who felt that the will of God might be that, through defeat, France should be purged of her sins. At home, a few weeks later, some pious folk whose faith lacked robustness were saying much the same foolish thing, "The test of our Christianity was to be that we should lose the war." Most of us who returned felt that the test of our Christianity lay in the ways by which we showed ourselves worthy of the men of Dunkirk and the Epic of the Little Ships. We ought all to have known by that advanced date that our enemies were moral

imbeciles. But from time to time we hear the argument put forward that it would be wrong to speak of the struggle in which we are engaged as a spiritual combat. Hitler is evil, it is said, but are *we* good? Are we upright enough, and penitent enough, to be the consecrated instrument of God's purpose? The questions contain a dangerous half-truth. All men stand under the judgment of God; all men are in desperate and daily need of repentance. But even if our nation had been guilty of the evils which have stained the soul of Germany (and our nation has not) it would still be our duty to oppose that berserk people. Or again it is said, This is not really a spiritual combat, for the soul of man is not involved; man's soul is unconquerable. That also is a dangerous half-truth. The soul of a man may be unconquerable, but the soul of a little child is not. Hitler *can* corrupt the souls of children—and has already corrupted hundreds of thousands of them. "Give me the oversight of a child at the age of six," says Valdur von Schirach, that evil genius of the German youth movement, "and he is mine for life." We are fighting a battle for the soul and for Christianity throughout the world. Because of his theological position and because of his practical experience of Nazi ways, no one is better qualified than Professor Karl Barth to speak on this matter. This is what he writes: "Humility is an excellent thing. . . . Let us only be sure that, if we preach about humility, it is a humility before God of which we are speaking, and not a humility before facts and circumstances, before powers and dominions, before men and human authorities. If we were to give way to this we should have surrendered our faith and the enemy would already have triumphed over us."

The order to withdraw was sudden and peremptory. Experiences varied between planes and destroyers, troop ships and coal barges. A first-hand account may give the typical scene more vividly than a general description. Calais was almost surrounded. Two days later it was invested and the gallant battle in its defense was on. There was little opportunity at that time, when startling operations were going on throughout the whole fighting zone, to give the Battle of Calais the prominence of newspaper headlines; but, in the words of John Masefield, our soldiers have "never cared much for the headlines of the press; in their mute way they have cared a good deal for what will look well in a ballad."

Stories were filtering in of the ruthless way in which enemy tanks had run down and over everyone who stood in their way, including, it was

reliably reported, their own wounded. General Ironside, who had just returned from a visit to the Belgian front, strode up and down the dining room storming with indignation; he had himself seen German planes machine-gunning the sluggish streams of weary and despairing refugees.

There is one advantage of the screaming bomb which was used that night; it gives fair warning of its approach. The fifth attack took place about three in the morning, when the hotel over the way took a direct hit. The damage was largely confined to the garage; but the blast was not inconsiderable within the residential part, and General Ironside was blown, without injury to that stout frame, out of his borrowed bed.

The British consul had whispered mysteriously in my ear, "Be at the docks at one o'clock tomorrow afternoon."

Punctually, on the stroke of one, the gray form of H. M. Destroyer *Venomous* drew in to a berth. But there were eyes overhead. If anything were needed to increase my admiration for the British Navy it was the events of the next crowded ninety minutes, with the coolness and heroism of these young sailors. As soon as each salvo of bombs was over they left their gun stations, ran up the gangway and guided, helped, or carried people on board. Again and again they returned, between bombing attacks, to secure all the pathetic refugee luggage, mattresses, handbags, rugs, even a dog and a football; one young sailor of seventeen carrying in his arms a six-weeks-old baby and crooning to him most professionally as if he himself were the father of a family. The commander stood on the bridge all the time, obviously warding off the closest bombs by the sheer force of his affection for his ship. For the work of the *Venomous* in that eventful week he was awarded the Distinguished Service Order. All the exiles were on board save one, an elderly lady who rushed up and down the quay crying, "Encore dix minutes! encore dix minutes!" But we were waved away, just in time to escape the next wave of bombers, and there was a strong suspicion that she was an enemy agent. The crew of the destroyer were prepared for this type of thing. Their last trip had been to Holland, where it was not unusual to find a Tommy gun opening fire from the folds of a nun's robes. Like all destroyers' crews, the men were ready to turn their hands to any job with equal zest. (Two days later the *Venomous* was off Boulogne, rejoicing in the unaccustomed experience of having land targets and knocking out German tanks as they lumbered down the streets.) In mid-channel (the crossing was over in

twenty-five minutes!) I said to one of the sailors, "I see she's Clyde-built," and received the proud and happy reply, "Yes, sir, and so am I."

The term of the Church's service was brief, but thousands of friends were made by those who served behind the counters from morning to night. The last sentence of my report to the home committee read: "The chief impressions brought back from France are of the men's constant acknowledgment of the value of the centers; the encouragement and appreciativeness of G. H. Q., Commanding Officers, and Chaplains; the consideration of the Royal Navy; and the courage, persistence, and devotion to duty under trying, exhausting, and dangerous conditions, of a really magnificent staff."

The citizen army of today is largely a cross section of the British people. Its soldiers hope that the war will not last so long that they will require to send down their roots deep into the army system; they are men who have left home for a short time to perform a particular job which has to be done. Mobile units are invaluable in this fast-moving warfare, but they are not to be regarded as the standard type of service. Rather should they be extensions, operating from a fixed base in which men may gather in their hours off duty, to sit down together—if possible in comfortable armchairs—may talk and write letters, and find a place of comparative quiet and seclusion. Most men appreciate the touch of home, the chance of showing off their photographs of wife or sweetheart or children, and of a good heart-to-heart talk with someone who is interested, will not laugh at them, nor tell. And, as time goes on, more and more want to carry away one of the New Testaments provided by the Church, or to sit in the quietness of the chapel.

The commanding officer of that Scottish battalion which was the spearhead of the advance into Belgium suggested to us on the eve of the battle that the army would be greatly encouraged by a more forthright declaration on the part of the Church that we are fighting in a righteous war, for good against evil, for God against the powers of darkness. "I believe it," he said; "my officers and my men believe it." The Church surely can speak with confidence in such terms. That new world of which Hitler speaks is nothing more than the Darkest Ages come back, with the one difference that no corner of it is any longer to be illuminated by the mercy of Christ. The leader of the forces arrayed against us is one who knows only how to hate; we follow One who knows only how to love.

The Quarter's Fiction

EARL B. MARLATT

DID the politicians and generals surrender France to the Nazis just to save Paris, its vistas, its river, its island, its bridges and cathedrals? This is the arresting question which Storm Jameson virtually asks in her grimly beautiful novel, *The Fort*. In its intensity, swift action and dramatic dialogue it is the *Journey's End* of the present war and should be made a play as provocative and redeeming as *Sherriffs* was. It is also one of the few artistic achievements of this quarter's fiction.

Whether the speech is history or fiction is not entirely clear, but in *The Fort* Storm Jameson has Marshal Pétain say over the ruins of Verdun on Armistice Day, 1918: "If I had realized the cost I wouldn't have had it defended. It was not worth it." Captain Redon, who had overheard the Marshal's observation, adds twenty-two years later: "I believe that if Pétain saw Tours, Bordeaux, Marseilles and all the villages and obscure towns of France threatened with the fate of Verdun, he would give in at once."

Ward, a British major, remembering a cottage with English meadows around it and a trout stream beyond, wonders if the Marshal might not be right: "What would France be without Frenchmen and French villages?"

Redon, with something of the insight of a "mute, inglorious" Bergson, answers: "The country of Montaigne and Pasteur, and the country of all her peasants and soldiers." Obviously this country is more than the land, or the villages, or the cathedrals, or the palaces and parliament buildings, which politicians and generals must always be saving for the privileged few.

It should be added that both Redon and Ward die quietly and sacrificially for that country whether it be watered by the Loire near Orleans, or a trout stream at Stockbridge, or the gray sea at Ostermünde, which Langer, the German in the story, wanted to remember before the darkness came. In the process all of them learn that lands or men are never lost or forgotten if they put all that is creative in them into a spirit which, like Pasteur's or Rupert Brooke's or Goethe's, can never die.

And that, as the novel ends, was the realer fort, which Major Ward, Captain Redon and young Murray—he refused to save himself while his

comrades died—were holding against the defeatist Vidal, the revolutionary Masson, the fanatical Langer, and all the hosts of mechanized Germany and demoralized France. With that stronghold for its setting it is not surprising that the drama—it is really that—has a mystical ending as moving as *Outward Bound* or *Death Takes a Holiday*. In a scene too sacred to be dissected, Murray and Ward suddenly find themselves back home in a “green and pleasant land.” It is quiet after the “sound and fury” of that faraway cellar hole. Young Richard Murray can scarcely believe it is real. “But I’ll believe anything,” he says, “of the air this morning. This country’s not unlike my part of the world. The same hardness, you’d think it was indestructible.” As, of course, it was, being what it was. But even the veteran Ward did not realize it was “that undiscovered country” until he met a returning traveler, his splendid friend, James Murray, whom he had lost on that same terrain in the first World War:

“Jamie,” he said—they are the last words in the book—“What luck. When did you get back?”

It is an artist’s way of suggesting more than most novelists dare to say: “For they desire a better country, even a heavenly country.” Wherefore, “they go on, I tell you. Surely, they go on.”

By a singular coincidence Virginia Woolf deals with the same theme in *Between the Acts*, without, however, following through to the mystical denouement of Miss Jameson’s more finished work. This was obviously deliberate since Miss Woolf wrote the novel as a swan song for her own unfinished life. In fact, her self-chosen death so soon after the completion of the book may have been her last confession that the riddle of life—“the monkey puzzle tree,” she calls it—was insoluble at a time when “the mortal mists are gathering” again so that every “house has lost its shelter. It is night before roads were made or houses. It is the night that dwellers in caves have watched from some high place among rocks.”

This ominous handwriting on the wall comes at the end of a latter-day Belshazzar’s feast, as only Virginia Woolf could have re-created it. Using the stream-of-consciousness technique, of which she is a supreme master, she lets the events of a single afternoon body forth the decadence of English gentility, so-called, or even of England, waiting indifferently for German bombs to shatter the complacency of her self-esteem.

The palace, about to slip, like Belshazzar’s, into the limbo of forgotten splendors, is Pointz Hall, low, squat and ugly, but important because it

has a terrace and a wall and a view of trees and a river. It is doubly important one day each year when the pageant to raise funds for "the dear old church" is held on the terrace, if the weather is fine, and in the barn if it should be, well, "variable." In either case the fortunate attendants, and contributors, have a chance to share, for one day at least, the view which the more fortunate Olivers have always, or *in perpetuo*, as they would prefer to have it said.

They think, naively, that the whole life of the community revolves around that view, and that pageant, and generous patrons like Bartholomew Oliver; his sister, Mrs. Lucy Swithin (retainers called her "Old Flimsy"), and the Rev. G. W. Streatfield, who, as Miss Woolf etches him acidly, "wasn't such a bad fellow; a piece of traditional church furniture; a corner cupboard; or the top beam of a gate, fashioned by generations of village carpenters after some lost-in-the-mist-of-antiquity model." Clearly, he was not qualified to read and interpret the handwriting on the wall when Miss La Trobe, a foreigner, a French interloper and Communist, perhaps, wrote it indelibly on the wall and the view and the river; for the little pageant master knew how completely she had failed to break the veneer of their smugness and warn them, before the bell tolled, that England was more than houses with views and gentle folk who must observe the amenities of their class and hangers-on-to-pseudo-respectability and even churches with nothing better to do than to give bazaars and take up collections.

"But I was saying," one of the auditors chortles, as she catches a glimpse of the church through the trees, "can the Christian faith adapt itself? In times like these. . . . At Lorting no one goes to church. . . . There's the dogs, there's the pictures. . . . It's odd that science, so they tell me, is making things (so to speak) more spiritual."

All of this is only prelude or interlude—cast of characters, stage-sets, time-data, et cetera—for the pageant which is the major action in the novel. It is addressed to the "Gentles and simples," the privileged spectators.—"We remain seated. We are the audience"—and it is Miss La Trobe's and Miss Woolf's not-too-subtle satire on what is supposed to be "forever England." The view and the meadows and the river are important, it tries to say, but only as background for the action of the piece, in which Eliza Clark, a tobacconist, plays Queen Elizabeth, and capitally, too, and "Albert the Idiot" represents "the hindquarters of the donkey" in the "Rule

Britannia" scene. He also assists the Rev. Mr. Streatfield in taking up the collection, "jingling his collecting box—an aluminum saucepan without a lid."

The satire, as here, is frequently barbed and in bad taste, but it was Miss La Trobe's and Miss Woolf's way of pointing up the pageant for the revelation of its finale: Spectators, star actors and scenery are important only as they provide a proper stage for the unifying action of the chorus, farmers and villagers, yeoman and seamen, plodding and folk dancing to the cosmic rhythms of the soil, the sea and the sun.

"Digging and delving," they sing, as Miss La Trobe vociferates from the bushes "Louder, louder," the bushes that fringe the precious trees, "hedging and ditching, we pass. . . . Summer and winter, autumn and spring return. . . . All passes but we, all changes. . . . but we remain foreven the same. . . . Palaces tumble down, Babylon, Nineveh, Troy. . . . all fallen, they lie. . . . Digging and delving we break with the share of the plough the clod. . . . and the Queen and the Watch Tower fall."

In Ciro Alegria's Latin-American Prize novel, *Broad and Alien Is the World*, this same wind of healing blows across the level Atlantic to rustle the pampas grasses and cleanse the waters of pestilential lakes. Here in Peru the privileged exploiters are, as in France, politicians and generals, and, as in England, a landed gentry, who believe smugly that their paler faces and more impeccable speech make them the natural lords of all lands they covet for their estates. With corrupt courts and governments to support their heinous claims they have virtually enslaved the once proud Incas, who must retreat always farther into the foothills of the Andes.

In the mountain village of Rumi they have finally established "a beloved community." Here, under their aging but intrepid mayor, Rosendo Maqui, they plough the black soil watered by mountain streams and pasture their cattle—every calf, cow and bull a pet—in sea-green valleys. At night around council fires in the village square the mayor and the selectmen debate democratically every issue that troubles the peace of the community. With such fields, such a village life, and such a mayor to father and protect them, the Indians live happily in their mountain Utopia. Few of the young men have any desire to leave the land to pick coca in adder-ridden fields, cut rubber in pestilential swamps, or join the bandits in their mountain

hideaways. For them "The wheat and the corn—blessed nourishment—have become symbols. Just as other men build their structures upon positions, honors, arts or finances, it was upon the earth and its products that the villagers of Rumi built their hopes. And for them the earth and its products were, first of all, a creed of brotherly love."

The elaboration of this motif in drawing the character of Rosendo Maqui is Senor Alegría's major achievement. Not being so practiced a writer as either Miss Jameson or Miss Woolf, he probably takes too much time to set up his scenery and present his cast of characters, but, by the same token, his background is more solid than Miss Woolf's, at least, and more likely to withstand the shock of brutal reality and injustice as Miss Jameson's did.

The serpent in this new Eden is, of course, a lineal descendant of the earlier conquistadors, Don Alvaro Amenabar y Roldan. Seeing the green fields of Rumi between him and the mines he wants the Indians to work for him, he decides to bring down two condors, as it were, with one repeater-rifle shot. Rosendo Maqui resists magnificently but hopelessly, after he has been betrayed by his lawyer, Bismarck Ruiz. To save the community from further persecution and extinction he finally leads them peaceably and happily to bleak pastures and a deserted village farther up the mountain at Yananahui. Even here the Incas are not safe from the depredations of Don Alvaro Amenabar y Roldan. Rosendo, unjustly accused of stealing cattle, languishes and dies in prison, but not until his fatherly spirit unbroken, he has commissioned Benito Castro to carry on his work of protecting the community. Castro also fails, but without surrendering the rights of free men to till the land of their fathers and live at peace with their brothers in a country where no man of good will is an alien.

Curiously, this is also one of the themes of the newest North American best seller and, maybe, prize winner, Mary Ellen Chase's *Windswept*. The book was published too late to be reviewed adequately in this quarter's fiction, but its treatment of the friendship between John Marston and Jan Pisek, the Bohemian immigrant boy, is certainly in key with Rosendo's and Alegría's appeal for "a creed of brotherly love." Moreover, its redeeming passion is a devotion to the soil and the sea as more natural fields for the growth of freedom than the effete scenery, snobbery and cruelty of entrenched gentility, whether in Europe or the newer Americas.

Perhaps the North American writer who has most successfully woven all of these motifs into a single work of art, as stark as Virginia Woolf's swan song and as mystical as Storm Jameson's lifting horizons, is Robinson Jeffers. In the first long narrative poem in *Be Angry at the Sun* he has written a short but complete novel in verse with something of Alegría's primitive passion and vigor. It is called "Mara" because its revelation, when it came, was as bitter as "the waters of Mara" or Rosendo's persecution by Don Alvaro Amenabar: One must suffer and forgive and sometimes die for others if he is to be free in a world where men are less friendly than the earth and the mountains and the unfailing stars.

"Mara" is Bruce Ferguson's story as grimly told and as deeply etched in memory as Tom Joad's in that other not-too-savory saga of California, *Grapes of Wrath*. In each case the conflict is the same, between a mettlesome, stallionlike son of the soil and a once-fertile country made a waste land haunted by vultures, vampires and weasels, beside which hawks and mated lions seem kindly and godlike. But aren't all creatures equally the victims of environment and circumstance unless they glimpse "the first least gleam of truth" and let it strike their fetters off? If so, neither Rosendo Maqui, nor Tom Joad, nor Bruce Ferguson can become the instruments of a more-than-human retribution or justice. As Jeffers finally says, "Here is another sign that the age needs renewal," not by punishing or killing petty individuals, but by redirecting cosmic forces as upreaching as the mountains and as cleansing as the sea and the sun.

Ferguson's stream-of-consciousness interpolations, like Eugene O'Neill's in *Strange Interlude* or Virginia Woolf's in *Between the Acts*, reveal his, and possibly Jeffers' solution for the riddle of strife and injustice in the world. Pieced together but in the exact order in which they appear in "Mara," they argue: "How can we say this is bad, this is good, when we know nothing about it, having no standards nor faith to judge by? Like flies in a vacuum. . . . Either we are animals, clever in some ways, degenerate in others and follow instinct, or else we are something else and ought to do otherwise. . . . You dark young mountains are going up in the world; we the people are going down. Why? Because no one knows the difference between right and wrong. So the wolves will come back to Europe. . . . I wish to God I had some religion. . . . I want the truth. The truth. . . . The spirit that flickers and hurts in humanity shines brighter from better lamps; but from all shines."

So does Robinson Jeffers journey with Storm Jameson and Virginia Woolf and Ciro Alegría and Mary Ellen Chase from the valley of disillusionment and man's inhumanity to man to "the great humaneness at the heart of things" and the unbroken spirits of men or nations who cannot die. "They go on, I tell you. Surely, they go on."

The Fort. By STORM JAMESON. New York: The Macmillan Co. pp. 136. \$1.75.

Between the Acts. By VIRGINIA WOOLF. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co. pp. 219. \$2.50.

Broad and Alien is the World. By CIRO ALEGRÍA. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc. pp. 434. \$2.75.

Windswept. By MARY ELLEN CHASE. New York: The Macmillan Co. pp. 440. \$2.75.

Be Angry At the Sun. By ROBINSON JEFFERS. New York: Random House. pp. 153. \$2.50.

Book Reviews

Prayer. By GEORGE A. BUTTRICK.
New York: Abingdon - Cokesbury
Press. pp. 352. \$2.75.

THIS is a book of conspicuous importance. It is concerned with a great theme and it deals with this nobly. It could have been written only by a man who had read much and thought much, and who by much praying had intimately learned the meaning of prayer.

With this brief preface, it is well that the reviewer should not go on to expand his own ideas about the book, but to let the book speak for itself. It is one thing to describe the taste of food. It is another and better thing to present that food itself so that those who may be hungry for it can take it as their own.

"This book began," says Doctor Buttrick, "in a conviction of the central creativeness of prayer, and in a silent protest against yielding it to an unexamined concept of natural law. I said, only to myself at first: 'To argue that man makes natural law his servant, as when he causes water to flow uphill, and that surely God can do as much in answer to prayer, is no solution of the problem. For thus God is exiled among His water-pipes and switchboards. He is no longer Friend and Father: He is only Mechanic. Such a faith is not the mending, but the menace, of religion. It is no gain to find a bright rebuttal—and lose God.'"

That certainly is a vivid and true description of the difficulty which many religious men and women feel in our age, dominated as it has been by so many iron presuppositions which in the name of science have seemed to cripple the freedom of faith. But something invincible within us makes us believe that the realities of the spirit cannot be con-

fined within that realm of precise definition which a materialistic science would represent as the whole of truth.

"Perhaps mankind's adventure is less than a wisp of smoke from a limitless smoldering, a tiny vagary of whirling electrons and the mammoth skies. Perhaps: but we need not believe it until rocks rush to build a Taj Mahal, and an ink bottle writes a Bible. Many words of life astronomy has given, and from its book more light will break, but *the Word* will not be found through a telescope."

In this same first chapter Doctor Buttrick uses a memorable illustration for the way in which prayer may become the very center of life. It is, he says, like the mesa described in Willa Cather's *Death Comes for the Archbishop*, on which the Acoma Indians in Colorado built their home.

"This book will plead that prayer is a rock staircase to an inviolable sanctuary, a courage to win fruitfulness from sand, and a home, even amid earth's changes, in the Eternity of God. The key city, this mesa of prayer, must stand in the crucial struggle. The nihilism which assaults it must be gainsaid. Then, perchance, our modern autocracies can be undermined in love, our modern democracies saved from license, and a Theocracy raised in the earth. Then

" 'This bird of dawning singeth all night long: . . .

So hallow'd and so gracious is the time.' "

Such, then, is the spirit and purpose of this volume. Now more specifically as to its arrangement and the development of its theme.

It is divided into four parts.

The first of these, which is much the briefest of the four, is entitled "Jesus and Prayer." "For a Christian student of the fact of prayer," says Doctor Buttrick, "this ought to be the real beginning." We do not need to turn back to any study of primitive prayer, "that realm of vague fact, dubious deduction and uncertain value." We come nearest and closest to the heart of the matter when we look at prayer in what is its highest and most revealing expression, that is, in the prayer life of Jesus Himself. "Jesus lived so deeply and so mightily," he writes in one superbly suggestive sentence, "that He has become man's unquiet conscience, secret strength, and sheltering home." And later in the same chapter the author goes on to say:

"It has become a fashion to acknowledge His sovereign character, His white and gleaming ethic, His courage to expose and resist the hoary lies of trade and statescraft, His love unto death—and meanwhile ignore His praying. That fashion is here challenged. It does not deal with facts in true proportion. If His ethic is true, it is a fair assumption that His faith in prayer cannot be false. His life and death had their secret springs, like a river, back in the hills where He was wont to pray."

The second part of the book is entitled "Prayer and the World," and in this Doctor Buttrick grapples directly with some of the problems and contradictions which are raised between our belief in the unlimited sovereignty of a loving God on the one hand and the strange evils and tragedies and frustrations of our actual world on the other. He discusses some defective theories of prayer, the problems of petitionary prayer and intercessory prayer, the relation between petitionary prayer and natural law, and concludes this part of his book with a

chapter which he entitles "The Bounds and Boundlessness of Prayer."

To the present reviewer this part seems not the most convincing section of Doctor Buttrick's book. This does not represent a failure on the part of the author himself, but is simply a reflection of the fact that we are here dealing with an almost insoluble difficulty. Doctor Buttrick does not evade any of the perplexities which press upon us. On the contrary, he brings them out into the open, shows their reality and refuses to try to deal with them by any smooth hypnotism of bland assertions. He shows that there are some petitions which we cannot expect to have granted and some limitations beyond which we may not go in our petitions to God. But upon the reality both of petitionary and intercessory prayer he strongly and eagerly insists. With a sincerity which could not help be his he recognizes that there are areas of the inexplicable through which neither thought nor faith can find a perfectly certain way. But his thought leads on to this final conclusion—the farthest conclusion perhaps to which any honest and humble spirit can point us in this argument.

"Helpless human folk will continue to seek God as succor in storm—and continue to find Him. They will know, and accept the knowledge, that in the midst of earth's variabilities there is still a core of the unyielding; for they realize with Lin Yutang that the weather ought not to be in our control, and that death may be more important in its revealings than physical health. But they will not cease to cry from the depths upon a Help out of sight, and God will not fail to answer them—sometimes in denial of the wish but in sure peace in the heart, and sometimes in instant acquiescence. Even a blind and foolish prayer honors Him more than the al-

leged wisdom that buries Him in His 'laws.' The variabilities of earth are God's play of impromptu act, which sometimes grants our childish askings and thereby serves our growth. The fixities likewise are filled with His presence: they are not belts of inertia, but assurances of His unwearied care."

The third part of the book is entitled "Prayer and Personality." This is the longest of the four sections and it is extraordinarily valuable. No brief review can do justice to it. It should be read and then reread, and every earnest Christian, whether minister or layman, will find much in it which interprets his own inner gropings toward God and illumines the way toward a more conscious and confident experience of God's reality. Prayer and Our Wandering Attention; Prayer, Suggestion, and Faith; Prayer, Memory, and the Subconscious; Prayer and Conscience: these are only some of the themes which are discussed in the different chapters of this rich portion of the book. The quality of it is certainly not fully expressed, but may at least be suggested by these quotations from the climax of the chapter on "Prayer, Instinct, and Motive":

"The psychiatrist knows that the patient must not 'transfer' reliance from himself to the counselor. Does he know that the patient *cannot* stand alone? It is not that kind of world. In every realm of life power comes, not merely from within the man, but from beyond the man. In prayer, if prayer is not divorced from honest thought and life, we draw power."

Then, turning to the great figure of Francis of Assisi, Doctor Buttrick says:

"He brought a new springtime to the world. This power is not what the world calls power, for the world's power only blasts. This power is real power. It lifts man to

"'everlasting light,
Above the howling senses' ebb and flow.'

He is now linked with all the correlated powers of the sky."

The concluding section of the book is entitled "A Way of Prayer," and it is an inclusive, definite and altogether helpful description of the ways in which we may develop a life of prayer both private and corporate. In these pages all the general ideals and beliefs which have been made to glow in the preceding ones are focused into shining lights to reveal the actual ways of progress in the devotional life.

The style of the whole book is that which readers will already have known to be characteristic of Doctor Buttrick. If there is one thing in it which a reviewer might wish had been a little different, it is in the excess of a virtue. Doctor Buttrick's mind is always imaginative and vivid. His thought falls into pictures, and therefore his expression into inexhaustible metaphors and similes. Sometimes the multiplicity of these tends to confuse rather than enlighten the reader. When it is suggested that a truth is like this—and also like this—and then like something more, the reader's attention is bewildered among the quick-dissolving pictures, and he begins to lose his recollection of what the truth was which has been suggested to him in so many different ways. But at its best, the style is exciting in its swift and flashing picturesqueness, as for instance in this noble conclusion to one of the sections in his chapter on "Jesus and Prayer."

"He is the true King, the 'Man who can.' He has power—like dawn's banners, like the unseen constraint of tides, like a fragrance, like great music, like buried seed, like that Spirit in history which litters time with the debris of

proud empires and wills that the 'meek shall inherit the earth.' He is 'Konig'—the only man who can lift our transitory flesh into an eternal light. He is Prophet, Priest, and King, because his days were hid in prayer."

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The Inner World. An Introduction to the Philosophy of Christianity. By JOHN WRIGHT BUCKHAM. New York: Harper and Brothers. pp. xxvii-285. \$3.50.

THIS book is written from the view of a Christian theist who believes that the inner world of man must be analyzed and understood before the external world about him can have meaning. Christianity, beginning with Jesus as an ethical theology, is here translated into our twentieth century idiom as a theistic conservation of values. The translation of any theology into a modern religious philosophy requires skill: such a task Doctor Buckham has accomplished with artistry and finesse.

The Self, as the center of the Inner World and the interpreter of the Outer World, affected as it is by body relations, gradually grows into a Person related to the Moral-Spiritual Realm. "To emerge from selfhood into personality is to pass from the realm of nature into the realm of spirit, from the sensuous to the supersensuous, from the self-centered to the altruistic, from vagrancy to a responsible place in the moral order."

The World of Experience, coming to man in his threefold role as a cognitive-emotive-volitional person, culminates in the experience of the Supreme Person. "Spiritual experience embraces and unifies not only all personal beings and all

the higher forms of rational, moral, aesthetic and religious reality, but all sentient life." As man tries to interpret this total experience, truth is found as his ideas correlate with the real stuff of experience.

Although religion is grounded in experience and arises from it, religion has its own "distinctive experimental content and character," appreciated as a Sustaining Strength in helping man meet life's exigencies and as a Being worthy of deepest adoration and worship. Since religion is based on experience, its best philosophic expression "culminates in Theism as the river flows into the sea or the seed ascends to flower and fruitage." Theism accrues a Christian connotation because it holds to a progressive revelation of God in history, "the process being crowned by a unique historic and still unfolding revelation of Christ." This does not mean that history is *itself* the Christian revelation; rather, history is the *vehicle* of the Christian revelation, remarkably epitomized in the Logos of the Fourth Gospel prologue where one finds "ontology, cosmology, theology, anthropology, philosophy of history and Christology." The goal of history and the purpose of the Church alike have the task of bringing God's Reign into the historic process.

The Christian man needs a bifocal vision: He must discern clearly this ideal goal of history; he must also utilize religion as a means of giving him a healthy, victorious selfhood. Evil and struggle may thwart man's life, but the Christian man has a religion for conquering and overcoming these enervating hazards. Furthermore, he has a faith: That although Evil is real in the temporal world, in the eternal world Evil is unreal; that Evil is not as real as Good, because "Good is the Original and Ultimate Real"; that the Self (with

which we began in this particular analysis) is indestructible, able toprehend the present, the past and the future, and capable of appreciating a world where "place passes into *presence* and time into *eternal*." "The conception of expanding personality into an expanding spiritual environment, through the vitalizing power of God, is no fabric of fancy. Nor is it religious only. It is rational, ethical, philosophical. It is, above all else, in full accord with the Christian conception of the Inner World, its nature and possibilities."

In this book the reader finds numerous references to literature, poetry, biography, religion and theology. It reflects a rich heritage which comes to a scholar (now living as Professor Emeritus of Pacific School of Religion) who has time to reflect and draw upon a fellowship of great minds.

Ministers who wish a living expression of contemporary theism will find this book alive and stimulating; it is also a rich source for sermon ideas. Teachers will find this of helpful use as a text in philosophy of religion courses. Alert laymen will want to read this book; it deals with technical ideas framed in technical words, but it is written with sufficient clarity and illustration to translate meaning to a nonprofessional religionist. Perhaps this volume might well be called a Magna Charta of Progressive Theism!

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In the Shadow of the Cross. By Frederick K. Stamm. Macmillan. \$1.50. The meaning of the Cross made new. Excellent Lenten reading.

New Horizons. By Frederick C. Gill. Epworth. 3s 6d. An optimistic view beyond the present difficulties.

The Story of American Catholicism.

By THEODORE MAYNARD. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1941. pp. xv-694. \$3.50.

NO ASPECT of life today is more promising than our growing interest in the development of thought. From the time of Herodotus and Thucydides until the end of the nineteenth century, history was in general a record of military and political phenomena. During the past two generations, historians have been increasingly concerned with the economic development of human life. There are indications that at last man is beginning to know himself, and to realize that politics and economics are both ancillary to the development of that which is unique in man—the human spirit. One of these indications is the growing emphasis on the history of religion and religious institutions. The time may be near when an American history textbook which devotes chapters to the history of railroads and ignores the growth of Churches, may seem as antiquated as one which describes, in detail, the strategy of Gettysburg, and forgets the economic structure of the nation.

American religious history, when it is written, must deal both with tendencies and phenomena which have affected all denominations, and those which were of concern only to individual denominations. I believe histories of the various denominations will be found to have far more in common than is now generally suspected.

Theodore Maynard's *The Story of American Catholicism* is especially significant because it is an effort to deal with the history of a particular religious denomination as a phase in American thought and life. Whatever the shortcomings of the work as an historical text, its perspective and range are of real importance. Doctor Maynard regards the development of the Catholic Church

in America as a vital element in the growth and the preservation of the Federal Union, both in its organizational and its spiritual aspects. Before rejecting the hypothesis, it would be advisable to consider carefully the impressive evidence presented. There is no denial of the fact that American geographical, economic and other material conditions contributed heavily to the development of American democracy. But Doctor Maynard definitely shows that none of these could have created the democracy, without spiritual energies deriving from religious traditions and institutions, among which those of the Catholic Church played an important and indispensable role.

The book is not simply a panegyric on American Catholicism. The quarrels between the Catholics of French and those of Irish origin are described in detail; perhaps even overemphasized. There is also criticism of individual churchmen.

Yet the story of Catholicism, as it emerges from this book, is moving and inspiring. The chapters devoted to Cardinal Gibbons may seem to the historian to lay undue emphasis on a single personality in the Church; but they offer vital insight into the potentialities of Church influence on American thought generally. The chapters dealing with problems of public education, as they have been affected by denominational antagonism, leading to the victory of secularist and even anti-religious teachers, are most instructive for members of all faiths.

It is a pity that here and there the author permits personal judgments unsupported by evidence to be injected into his text. Such is the statement that the Emancipation Proclamation "was—even apart from its open violation of the Constitution—a monstrous injustice" (p. 359).

Even the non-Catholic reader soon realizes that the book is impressionistic, and cannot claim to be an objective survey. Nevertheless, as a valuable contribution to the history of American religious life, it is indeed a "must" book for all students of contemporary America.

LOUIS FINKELSTEIN.

The Jewish Theological
Seminary of America,
New York, New York.

Ethics and Social Policy. By WAYNE A. R. LEYS. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1941. pp. 522-xiii. \$4.00 trade, \$3.00 school.

HERE is the kind of a book on ethics which has some chance of being studied with gratitude by ordinary students. There is nothing quite as dry and juiceless as the ordinary history of ethical theory by which students are inducted into the study of ethics in the ordinary college. The total effect has been negative and is probably more responsible than anything else for the scorn with which the subject of ethics is treated by ordinary students. They are asked to study and remember the ethical conclusions of all the great meditators of history without first being inducted into the art of ethical meditation based on concrete situations. The privilege of first-hand meditation on life which has been the privilege of all the great philosophers and ethical teachers is denied to the student. He is supposed to take second hand the ethical meditation of other people. Here is an author who begins a study of ethics life situation foremost, and then allows the student to go back and draw upon the insights of people who have been important in the same process in which he is engaged. My own experience is that there is nothing which is so exciting to students as this,

and it results in their becoming seekers in the realm of ethical truth.

This author starts out with the following paragraph in the preface: "My purpose in writing this book is to make the principles of ethical criticism accessible and intelligible to people who must evaluate public policies and personal plans of conduct. The old questions of philosophical ethics are implicit in every discussion of social policy, but the relevance of Aristotle's and Spinoza's studies is not always obvious. Daily occupations change, and the language in which common philosophical problems are formulated also changes. I have not, therefore, begun with traditional expositions of 'the good,' 'the right,' 'free will,' and so forth. I have started with a statement of some current social controversies, and I have then appealed to Socrates, Aristotle and others for help in formulating the ethical difficulties which these current controversies create."

He carries us through four great sections:

"Part One: How and Why Policies Are Evaluated.

"Part Two: The Quest for Consistency.

"Part Three: The Quest for Agreement With Other Men.

"Part Four: Should Everyone Participate in Policy-Making?"

All the while the students are invited to participate in the formulation of policies local and national, which immediately makes the questions of ethical evaluation highly exciting and important.

We commend this book wholeheartedly to the teachers of ethics and others who wish to renew their own interest in this subject. ARTHUR E. HOLT.*

The Chicago Theological Seminary,
Chicago, Illinois.

* Professor Holt died January, 1942.

The Theology of Politics. By NATHANIEL MICKLEM. London: Oxford University Press, 1941. pp. xvi-163. \$2.50.

IN THIS book, the Principal of Mansfield College has brought together a collection of essays in the general field of political and religious philosophy. While the present world crisis is the immediate occasion of his book, the author's primary interest is in principles which will be as valid a hundred years from now as today. His central thesis is that all vital political philosophy goes back in the last analysis to theology. This he believes is true in principle even of the atheistic philosophy of Communism. The weakness of present-day democracies is their lack of a consistent theology and our hope for the future will depend upon our recovery of a true understanding of the relation between faith and reason or as we might put it in the language of traditional theology of nature and the supernatural. "Natural theology," writes Dr. Micklem, "is common sense, but its ideas only catch fire as they are assumed into the revelation of the holy will of the living God. Faith is, I believe, a supernatural gift of God; we may desire it, or we may fear it, but of ourselves we cannot compass it" (p. 157).

Dr. Micklem's own belief is that the foundation of all sound thinking in the field of politics is a return to the medieval conception of reason as worked out by Aquinas, on the basis laid by Plato and Aristotle. In this conception, we have the philosophical basis of the type of civilization which we have been accustomed to call Christendom. Christian faith, to be sure, supplied something essential which that basis alone lacked, yet it is nonetheless true that where Christian theology has ignored or minimized the contribution of reason it has degenerated into atheism on the one hand or senti-

mentality on the other. This weakness on the part of contemporary Christianity has given the dictators their opportunity. They have only carried to its logical outcome tendencies which were implicit in the contemporary thinking of Christians. It follows that "mere dislike of 'Hitlerism,' however creditable, is insufficient. The Fascist and Communist experiments are violent and irrational attempts to remedy the undeniable defects and 'open sores' of capitalist democracy. We need an articulated philosophy of the State and of society, more rational, more attractive, more human than that of our enemies, and we need the impulse of religious conviction at least as passionately held as the pseudo-religions of Germany and Russia. Such a philosophy and such a religion are not to be found except in the Christian faith" (p. xiv).

In form the volume consists of a collection of independent essays some of which have appeared in other connections. This gives the book a certain lack of unity of which the author himself is conscious and of which he warns his readers. Nevertheless the line of thought followed is logical and its development consistent. In reminding us of the fundamental place of reason in human life Dr. Micklem has rendered a needed service and is pointing out the path which, unless the present reviewer is much mistaken, is likely to be increasingly followed in years to come.

WILLIAM ADAMS BROWN.

Union Theological Seminary,
New York, New York.

Newtopia. By P. W. Wilson. Scribners. \$2.00. Utopias may never be realized but the author of *Newtopia* is convinced that the "World We Want" is possible because it is one of the simple and fundamental desires born of need, not dreams.

The Crisis of Our Age. By P. A. SOROKIN. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1941. pp. 338. \$3.50.

SOROKIN subscribes on paper to the belief that human salvation from the tragic social dissolution of our time can come only in the form of a religious revolution. His survey of human cultural history and his appraisal of human folly together lead him to this conclusion. So it has been in the past, and so, in the absence of any reliable indications of man's willingness to learn from his past what things belong to his salvation, it must be again. Down to the valley of death, through the grim ordeal of suffering, there to be purged of sensate sins and vices, into the grace and glory of the children of God: so reads the time map of our journey from the dying stages of this epoch's culture to the springtime of the next. Readers looking anxiously for the consolation of Israel ought however to be doubly on their guard, lest, finding the conclusion consonant with their fondest, if at times wavering hopes, they should be moved thereby either to accept uncritically the theses from which it is drawn, or to expect from their author any courageous or intelligent leadership in the revolution itself.

There are many possible ways of diagnosing the present cultural crisis. Sorokin points to flaws in most of them. They reduce, he thinks, to two types. One is shallow and optimistic, the other pessimistic in the extreme. Spengler and others who resign themselves to the decline and fall of the West, mistake the closing of an epoch for the final disintegration and death of a culture. The others, a mixed company indeed, all fall short of an adequate and searching enough judgment, and mistake what is

really epochal for a perfectly ordinary crisis.

It is good to know that Sorokin disagrees with Spengler. It is not so easy, in spite of the blurb about challenging the wave of pessimism in our headlines, to be convinced that this disagreement establishes any sure defense against defeatism. But Sorokin's short way with the optimistic diagnosticians is even less convincing. They see the main issue "in a conflict of democracy versus totalitarianism, or capitalism versus communism, or nationalism versus internationalism, or despotism versus liberty, or Great Britain versus Germany." They "accordingly prescribe as the cure such medicine as a slight or substantial readjustment of economic conditions, from a rearrangement of money, or banking, or social security to the elimination of private property; or a modification of political conditions . . . or the elimination of Hitler and other 'wicked men'" (p. 15). They all naïvely believe in progress. They all want prosperity. They're all wrong.

Western culture has never been wholly integrated during the twenty-five centuries of its history, but has swung from one to another of three dominant patterns: ideational, idealistic and sensate. This sequence ran its first full course in Greece and Rome; a second began with the victory of Christianity over the Hellenistic world and ends in the present "sensate" night. The ideational system is preoccupied with supersensory reality and values, and is based on revelation, divine inspiration and mystic experience. The idealistic system seems to be a blend, or unstable compromise, between the other two, though there are suggestions that it leans heavily on reason. The central principle of sensate culture is that the senses alone disclose what is real and what is of value. *Our culture has been*

dominantly sensate. Its time is up. This is Sorokin's key to history.

Here is the judgment. "We are living, thinking and acting at the end of a brilliant six-hundred-year-long Sensate day." Its central principle was not wholly false. Indeed in the past it enabled us to do great things. Great art, notable systems of philosophy and law, impressive patterns of contractual social arrangements, and magnificent achievements in science and technology—all these have magically issued from thoroughgoing acceptance of *Locke's Dictum* (p. 13), (was it Locke's?) that nothing is in the mind that was not already in sense. But neither is this premise wholly true; hence its acceptance has eventually landed us in the horribly decadent and pathological distortions of dada, jazz, positivism, the crude hedonism of "wine, women and laxatives," mounting insanity, suicide and divorce rates and numerous other familiar evils. Incidentally Sorokin includes a chapter in which all the contributors to American culture (except the composers of jazz music) are card indexed under their European prototypes. Mr. Sorokin thinks of everything.

Such an analysis is entertaining and often shrewd. The real question is whether it clarifies matters very much to call the whole thing sensate. For the sake of brevity one must needs be dogmatic in one's disagreement. The dictum quoted is *not* the major premise of modern science. It is *not* the major premise of Descartes, Leibniz, Kant or Hegel. It is *not* the central principle in Dante, Shakespeare, Goethe, Dostoevski. It does *not* account for the elaboration of contractual relations in modern society. Locke did *not* make it the basis of his ethics of property or deduce his doctrine of economic value from it. It would take pages to set down all one's

objections, detail by detail, to Sorokin's use of his material, and pages more to record the tale of significant omissions. Is modern mathematics sensate? Was the Reformation sensate in inspiration? Was this the secret of the French Revolution? Is this what Marx learned from Hegel? And so on.

Elsewhere, Sorokin has sharply criticized other "rhythmic" theories of culture. He has acknowledged the partial likeness of those of Vico and of Comte to his own, while claiming to correct their partial insights. He justifies his own analysis because it enabled him to predict calamity at a time when easy-going optimists were still prating of prosperity just around the corner. The optimists were wrong. But that does not make Sorokin right. "Almost all the empirical theories of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries . . . have been refuted by the inexorable verdict of history as pompous and pretentious exhibits of barren erudition" (p. 127). A sobering thought, Mr. Sorokin.

The major portion of the book is devoted to an analysis of sensate culture, its rise and fall. The alternatives—ideational and idealistic cultures—are less fully described. Faith in God is the ground of an ideational culture and its ethical norms are presumably prescribed in the Sermon on the Mount. We may be moving toward such a culture, or we may be entering an idealistic epoch, though this is less likely and presumably less desirable. In any event there does not seem to be much we can do about it. "The only way out is a concerted action directed to the introduction of the familistic relationships." These are defined as permeated by mutual love, devotion and sacrifice, and are contrasted with contractual and compulsory relationships. But "the best methods for making the familistic re-

lationship the foundation of the future society is a purely technical matter not to be discussed here." (p. 320.) Purely technical indeed! We have a right to know whether they would be the methods of Petain or France, whether it is or is not a condition of our being able to practice them that we first take sides in the present World War. In the absence of any clear statement here, one becomes gravely suspicious of a writer whose favorite adjective is "noble," who evidently distrusts mass education, who invariably mentions trade unions contemptuously, and who contrasts "real heroes" with miners, farmers and laborers.

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The Growth of the Christian Church. By ROBERT HASTINGS NICHOLS. Philadelphia: Westminster Press. pp. xviii-380. \$2.00.

THIS is the second edition of a book published originally in 1914, but is brought up to date and takes cognizance of the many movements for church union up till 1939.

It is one of the best books which could have been written on the subject within the limit of 380 pages.

Its primary purpose is to give a bird's-eye view of the history of the Christian Church for those who are just starting out on this fascinating subject. It will be found of use, therefore, by theological students who are seeking a succinct account of the development of the Christian religion. It should, however, prove no less valuable to study groups within the local church, and might well be used as a textbook for this purpose. Each one of the eighteen chapters ends with a selection of questions for study, and a

bibliography recommending further simple readings on the subject discussed. A systematic study of the book by groups in the local church would be much more valuable than a great many of the subjects to be found on their programs. An intelligent knowledge of ecumenical Christianity is the *sine qua non* of any modern churchmanship which seeks to make the whole Church a power in the modern world.

To the reviewer perhaps the least satisfactory portion of the book deals with the difficult subject of the Reformation. To those who have been working on the Committee of the World Conference of Faith and Order it would seem that the Reformation was a necessity, albeit an unfortunate necessity, whose outcome was the destruction of an International Church and the establishment of National Churches whose existence seems in no small measure responsible for the chaotic conditions of modern Protestantism and the cataclysmic events which are taking place upon the stage of world history. The Reformation is a subject on which it is extremely difficult to be impartial: and a thoroughly equitable work on this controversial subject remains to be written.

Doctor Hastings has, however, produced a sound, scholarly and satisfying volume which is a solid foundation for further excursions into this much-neglected field.

Geoffrey Wardle Stafford.

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Jesus and His Passion. By Reginald Glanville. Epworth. 3s 6d. A historical and devotional study of Jesus' own view of His sacrifice.

On Guard. By Joseph R. Sizoo. Macmillan. \$1.00. Practical daily readings for spiritual mobilization.

The Imitation of Christ. From the First Edition of an English Translation Made c. 1530, by Richard Whitford. Edited by EDWARD J. KLEIN. New York and London: Harper and Brothers. pp. lxix-261. \$3.00.

IN THIS time of confusion a warm welcome awaits a fresh edition of Richard Whitford's *The Folowyng of Cryste*, a sixteenth century translation of the *De Imitatione Christi* of Thomas à Kempis, the Augustinian Canon who is still enthroned as the author of the *Imitation* despite the claims of Jean de Gerson, Walter Hilton, Gerard Groote and the unknown follower of the Franciscan ideals of poverty, humility and renunciation (cf. *L'Imitation de Jésus-Christ*—Ses origines franciscaines, par M. M. Lewandowski, *Le Correspondant*, Paris, 1926, 414-425).

In composing in the early fifteenth century his beautiful work on the Christian life, à Kempis, if we may adapt the phrase which Horace applied to the building of his *Odes*, gathered his honey like a Matinian bee, primarily from the flowers of the Bible, to a lesser degree from the mediaeval garden (Augustine's confession, *Quia fecisti nos ad te, et inquietum est cor nostrum, donec requiescat in te*, is found in substance more than once in the golden product). The dignity and simplicity of à Kempis' Latin, Whitford faithfully reproduced, and though the editor of this latest version of *The Folowyng of Cryste* has modernized the spelling, yet he has kept the flavor of the sixteenth century original as may be seen from the following timely passages: "All men desire peace, but all men will not do that which belongeth to peace" (III, xxv)—*Pacem omnes desiderant, sed quae ad veram pacem pertinent non omnes curant*; "great peace is with the meek man, but in the heart of a proud man is always

envy and indignation" (I, vii)—*iugis pax cum humili, in corde autem superbi zelus et indignatio frequens*; "if thou intend well and seek nothing but God and the profit of thine own soul and of thy neighbour's, thou shalt have great inward liberty of mind" (II, iv)—*si nihil aliud quam Dei beneplacitum et proximi utilitatem intendis et quaeris, interna libertate perfrueris*.

Among the topics discussed in the Introduction to the translation are the influence of Whitford's rendering on the development of English prose, and its style as compared with that of the original Latin of Pohl's critical edition of the Brussels manuscript and with that of other well-known English versions. The editor has laid us under further obligation by compiling a list of the "Principal English Translations of *De Imitatione Christi* Since the First Translation of 1460." Included in the list is John Wesley's revision of Worthington's rendition, which was based ultimately on Whitford's version. Wesley also published an abridged Latin edition of the *De Imitatione Christi* for use in the Kingswood School. The *Imitation* not only had a profound influence on the devotional life of Wesley but also formed a regular part of the early Sunday morning meditations of the young Oxford Methodists (cf. Frank Baker, *John Wesley and The Imitatio Christi, The London Quarterly and Holborn Review*, January, 1941, 74-87.)

The editor and the publishers are to be congratulated on producing a scholarly and sympathetic version of the *De Imitatione Christi* (the most widely read of all religious books save the Bible) in a volume beautifully printed and attractively illustrated with five significant plates.

HERBERT C. LIPSCOMB.

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Lynchburg, Virginia.

Faith and Nurture. By H. SHELTON SMITH. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1941. pp. xii-208. \$2.00.

THIS is a book that has been awaited for some time. It is a critique of modern religious education by one who was formerly intimately associated with its liberal expression.

Doctor Smith feels that liberal religious education is based upon thought patterns that have exhausted their vitality. But without iconoclastically rejecting religious liberalism, and without adopting *en bloc* what is called "realistic theology," he proceeds to review and evaluate critically the whole evolution of religious education from the time of Horace Bushnell to the present. Liberal theology of the past century stressed the immanence of God, the normal and natural growth of man in religiousness, the inherent goodness of man, and the Jesus of history who was the example *par excellence* of human religiousness. These elements were taken over into religious education by George A. Coe and others. As a result, religious nurture became undergirded by a religious liberalism that put man at the center of the stage. In the light of rising currents in theology which are moving toward a more realistically Christian position, so-called religious education finds itself in a crisis—whether it likes it or not!

The emphasis upon the Kingdom of God as a social goal, to be accomplished through evolutionary growth within history, needs critical rethought in the light of the New Testament conception of the Kingdom, and of the historical and present situation.

The liberal emphasis upon the goodness of man likewise must be reconsidered in the face of biblical conceptions of man, which have been elaborated

in the history of Christian thought. Sin is of a more radical nature than liberalism has supposed. Its attempt to trace it to an animal heritage, social relations, or the superpersonal forces of society is untenable. Sin then loses its metaphysical content.

The relative, tentative and experimental approach of liberal religious education is in conflict with the historic approach of evangelism. Besides, liberal religious education emphasizes human activity, creative "quest" and knowledge, which tend to obscure the reality and necessity of God's initiative.

Liberal religious education has not paid enough attention to the Church, its divine nature, its outreach beyond the confines of time, its catholic and communal nature and its place in the Christianizing of the individual.

The last chapter deals with the philosophy of progressive education, whose methods, if incorporated into the teaching of religion, radically alter the nature of religion itself. In this respect, Doctor Smith has given us a valuable contribution as regards the relation of the public school to Christian education.

This volume seems to answer in a kindly, yet decisive way, the vigorous manifesto of liberal religious education written recently by Harrison Elliott, *Can Religious Education Be Christian?* Doctor Smith answers with a rather vigorous caveat, bordering on a thundering NO.

However, Doctor Smith admits that his book is, of necessity, somewhat critical and, therefore, negative. It is of necessity so, that the ground may be cleared. There are points at which we could have wished for greater amplification, and implementation. But such work must follow this.

This is a "must" book for all who are concerned about the present state and

task of Christianity in the world. The question for serious thought is this: Shall Protestant nurture realign its theological foundations with the newer currents of Christian thought, or shall it resist these currents and merely reaffirm its faith in traditional liberalism?

ELMER GEORGE HOMRIGHAUSEN.

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Introduction to the Old Testament.

By ROBERT H. PFEIFFER. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1941. pp. 917. \$4.00.

OLD TESTAMENT "Introductions" are not new, but on the contrary so familiar that every reader will at once understand the character of this volume. However, it differs from its predecessors, first and obviously, in its bulk. It is an immense work. Even Driver's, that for some thirty years was in a sense the standard expression of Old Testament criticism, was of only 572 pages. But Pfeiffer's moves along in unhurried ease, discussing its succeeding themes at generous length that permits sampling, appraisal, history, argument and even a certain amount of divergence into ramifications of the topic. More important, however, toward its uniqueness is the inclusion of a long and valuable section, which one may style the introduction to the Introduction, dealing with the literary and religious interest of the Old Testament and the history of its text and of the ancient versions, along with that of the process of canonization. For this information the reader had been compelled hitherto to have recourse to separate monographs or foreign works.

One of the strong features of the work is its high conversance with current Old Testament scholarship. Pfeiffer has been known for his bibliograph-

ical interest, which now proves an asset that he turns to good account. His chapters are not merely a presentation of their several problems with available evidence, and then Pfeiffer's own conclusions. They are all that, but much more. They are brief historic sketches of the treatment of their themes, not uncommonly from ancient times, with then a survey of more recent literature and solutions. On this rich background Pfeiffer's own views are advanced, though frequently with striking reserve. It is this historic perspective which constitutes a notable value of the work. One derives a feeling of the unity and continuity of biblical study, certainly through the modern era, and not uncommonly a sense of fellowship with the older Jewish and Christian scholars right back into biblical times.

The book is written primarily for the general reader. The author tells us that he imagined himself talking to a class of students, ministers and laymen, with perhaps a few specialists as well. The style then is nontechnical and easy; the book is good reading. Yet no one is to conclude that such "popularization" is at the expense of scholarship. On the contrary, Professor Pfeiffer has demonstrated that desideratum of all scholarship, the ability to interpret esoteric studies into simple terms which will explain to the average intelligible person what it is all about. The result in this case is gratifying; the book makes clear what Old Testament criticism is, and the nature of its problems, methods and impelling purposes. Still better, it brings the entire activity into relevance to present-day religion by the light it throws on the course and results of Israel's thinking under the impact of events sometimes as brutal as those of our own day. One of the serious losses of religious thought of the past generation

has been its divorce from the Old Testament, a misfortune for which doubtless the Old Testament critic must himself bear heavy responsibility. But Professor Pfeiffer's able yet popular treatment quickens the hope that we may yet see the restoration of the sacred literature of Israel to that place in Christian life which it held almost undisputed until our times. This would be a religious achievement of the first order; for in its richness of color, its profound insights, its depth and variety of experiences through which it attained its undaunted faith in a purpose of God overruling men's affairs, the Old Testament speaks direct to the heart of this troubled age, so amazingly like the days of the great prophets.

In an expanse of scholarship so immense and complicated as that of the Old Testament it is inevitable that hosts of matters arise tempting to delay for comment or objection. Only a sampling of these is possible, unless one's review in turn approach the bulk of a monograph! Over against the excellence of the style must be mentioned a habit of parenthesis. It is a device intended, apparently, to reduce the number of footnotes, hence is an experiment in that persistent problem, the least objectionable documentation of scholarly works. But the experiment must be adjudged a failure. The reiterated interruption of the flow of passages by these intrusions is irritating as well as distracting; it makes hard reading. Commonly these parentheses bulk a full line or even two; but the worst situation is when such a break is followed by a few words of text and then another interjected note. The process of reading then becomes suggestive of the proverbial looking for a needle in a haystack!

The perennial importance of the Psalter leads one eagerly to Pfeiffer's

discussion of it. We find his position is such as might be called a reversion to the criticism of, say, twenty years ago; and this because of no oversight, for his familiarity with recent work is as marked here as elsewhere. But he chooses to believe that the Psalms are late, arose through private aspiration and devotion rather than public worship, and in their use of the first person are the voice of individual needs and piety. One welcomes his view that mention of a king is not evidence of pre-exilic date; but on the contrary the view that the reference may be to "Achaemenian Persian rulers or even Alexander the Great" is highly dubious. But the heart of the problem would seem to be Pfeiffer's attitude to the question of a liturgical use of the Psalms. He rejects Mowinckel's now famous theory of an annual ceremony of enthronement of Yahweh, in celebration of which many of the Psalms had their origin and meaning. Beyond question the theory has been pushed too far; yet denial can also be too sweeping. To the objection that the historic books give no account of such ceremony the answer is that the Psalms themselves are historic documents; that many of them evidence some liturgical procedure cannot be denied. This is especially clear in Psalm 47, which may be regarded as the best of Mowinckel's selection. Pfeiffer would grant some validity to this general position, for he claims that Psalm 24: 7-10 may have been sung when Solomon brought the ark into the Temple. But this is pure guessing. Further, unless this celebration was periodically reproduced in some sort of pageantry, the psalm lost most of its religious meaning. But if Pfeiffer admits this, then he is so far over toward the Mowinckel school that his heresy is merely one of his choice of ritual.

A more serious matter is his treatment

of the Wisdom movement. Wisdom, he tells us, was at first merely professional skill. But in the course of the centuries it bifurcated into "a realistic view of life" and an "ardent and orthodox (advocacy) of the tenets of normative Judaism in its less ritual aspects." It acquired a metaphysical sense in certain writings, and expressed the notion of God's wisdom embodied in creation, but in general the Jews identified wisdom with morality. And so he skims over the profound thinking of Israel's sages, specifically that in Proverbs 1 to 9, almost stumbling on its realities, but in the end missing the point. Hebrew "wisdom" was skill and metaphysics and scholarship and morality; but it came to mean all the best and highest that human life has attained or aspired to. It is our better self, yet not of ourselves for God at creation had built "wisdom" into the nature of the world. And this divine wisdom haunts us through all our days inviting and pleading with us to turn to better things; it is the "hound of heaven" pursuing us relentlessly. Here we have indisputably one of the great insights of the Old Testament, with ramifications afar, both backward into the ancient Orient and down the centuries to our own day. At few points is Pfeiffer's position more disappointing than in his treatment of these opening chapters of the Book of Proverbs.

But some similar judgment must be voiced on his view of Job. Critical issues we can leave out of consideration, for they are a shoreless sea. The misfortune, though, is that he fails, in common with far too many other interpreters of the Book of Job, to grasp the basic fact that the author of this great poem is relating an odyssey of the human spirit. He starts Job with an outlook not unlike that of the friends, but never intending to abandon him in that sterile finality

to which modern criticism has doomed him. On the contrary, with rare skill and insight he portrays the struggle of his despairing mind as under the lash of his undiscerning friends and the pain and bewilderment of his affliction he sinks into blasphemous revolt, but in that very moment, as though shocked by his own excesses, begins his climb upward to hope and faith. Notwithstanding such great affirmations as in 19: 25 and 23: 3-10, Pfeiffer sees only a "gloomy pessimism pervading the Book of Job"; "the gap between God and man is impassable." The clear direction of the dialogue to the point where it breaks off in the disorder of the ancient manuscript, and the summary given by the ancient reader who jotted down the notes in chapter 33 both alike show that the poem came to some solution which was satisfactory to Job's faith. But Pfeiffer can see only a conclusion that the problem of God's government of the world is insoluble. Isn't it astonishing then that a great thinker took the trouble to write all this superb poem, only to tell us that he hadn't a single idea on the theme he undertook to discuss!

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Chicago, Illinois.

Religion and the World of Tomorrow. By Walter W. Van Kirk. Willett, Clark. \$1.50. "The Way, the Truth and the Life" as the great adventure of world reconstruction.

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